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THE JOURNAL OF A TWO MONTHS TOUR;

WITH A VIEW OF

PROMOTING RELIGION AMONG THE FRONTIER INHABITANTS OF PENSYLVANIA,

AND OF

INTRODUCING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE INDIANS TO THE WESTWARD OF THE ALEGH-GENY MOUNTAINS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS on the LANGUAGE and CUSTOMS of ſome particular TRIBES among the INDIANS, with a brief Account of the various Attempts that have been made to civilize and convert them, from the firſt Settlement of NEW ENGLAND to this Day;

BY CHARLES BEATTY, A. M.

"As cold Water to a thirſty Soul; ſo is good News from a far Country. PROV. XXV. 25."

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THE JOURNAL OF A TWO MONTHS TOUR IN AMERICA.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth, *and the other Honourable and Worthy Gentlemen, in Truſt with his Lordſhip, for the Rev. Dr.* Wheelock's Indian *Charity Schools.*

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

THE following pages contain an account of a journey, undertaken by the reverend Mr. *Duffield* and myſelf, at the appointment of the Synod of *New York* and *Philadelphia*, to the Inhabitants on the Frontiers

Frontiers of *Penſylvania*, and the *Indians* that lie beyond them. Our errand to the former, was to examine what aſſiſtance might be thought neceſſary to be given them, in order to promote their religious intereſts, immediately after their emerging out of the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the late deſolating war: and, by viſiting the latter, we were to try if they diſcovered any favourable diſpoſition for attending to the goſpel and the miniſtrations of it.

The important nature of our miſſion, the many difficulties that occured to us in its execution, and the ſucceſs with which divine Providence, in ſome meaſure, bleſſed us, are ſo many concurrent obligations on us, to preſent our Journal to the eye of the Public, as we humbly apprehend the welfare, both of civil and religious ſociety,

is not a little intereſted in the concerns of both.

The whole only exhibits a plain, artleſs narrative of matters of fact; and I cannot but look upon it as an additional bleſſing, that the honourable and moſt worthy board of truſtees for Dr. *Wheelock*'s *Indian* Charity Schools, will permit me thus to commit the Patronage of it to Them.

Glory be to God! that truly Chriſtian and laudable Inſtitution is now in a moſt promiſing way; and, I humbly hope, in due ſeaſon, will be productive, not only of civilizing, but of truly converting thouſands and ten thouſands of the Pagan and Savage Nations in *America*.—For all your counſels and cares for this important purpoſe; that you may be able to rejoice, both

in life and death; and that the bleſſing of many, who were ready to periſh, may deſcend on you and your poſterity to the lateſt generations, is, and ſhall be the hearty prayer of,

Right Honourable, and

Honoured Gentlemen,

Your moſt obliged

And grateful Servant,

C. BEATTY.

A JOURNAL.

THE

JOURNAL.

BEING appointed by the ſynod of *New-York* and *Philadelphia* to viſit the frontier-inhabitants, that a better judgment might be formed what aſſiſtance might be neceſſary to afford them, in their preſent low circumſtances, in order to promote the goſpel among them; and likewiſe to viſit the *Indians*, in caſe it could be done with ſafety, to know whether they were inclined to receive the goſpel; I accordingly ſat out on my journey, *Tueſday* the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1766, accompanied with *Joſeph Peepy*, a chriſtian *Indian*, who was to ſerve as an interpreter; and, after travelling one hundred and twenty-two miles, we arrived at *Carliſle*, on *Friday* the 15th inſtant, where I met Mr. *Duffield*, who was alſo appointed to accompany us, and lodged at col. *Armſtrong*'s.

Carliſle, *Saturday*, *Auguſt* 16. Remained here; as I underſtood that none of the vacant congre-

gations had any notice of my deſign of being with them on the morrow. An opportunity preſenting to-day, we ſent notice to ſeveral places of our purpoſe to preach to the people there next week.

Carliſle, 17th. *Sabbath.* Preached for Mr. *Duffield* in the Afternoon.

18th. *Monday.* In the forenoon were much engaged, preparing for our journey;—ſat out with Mr. *Duffield.* After riding about ſix miles, we came to the north mountain, which is high and ſteep. The day being very warm, and we obliged to walk, or rather climb up it, the greateſt part of the way, were greatly fatigued by the time we reached the top.—After travelling four miles into *Sherman*'s valley, we came, in the night, to *Thomas Roſs*'s, where we lodged.

19th. *Tueſday.* Rode four or five miles to a place in the wood, deſigned for building a houſe for worſhip, and preached but to a ſmall auditory; notice of our preaching not having been ſufficiently ſpread. After ſermon, I opened to the people preſent, the principal deſign of the ſynod in ſending us to them, at this time; that it was not only to preach the goſpel, but alſo to enquire into their circumſtances, ſituation, numbers, and ability to ſupport it.

The people not being prepared to give us a full anſwer, promiſed to ſend it to *Carliſle* before

before our return. After ſermon, we proceeded on our way about five miles, and lodged at Mr. *Fergus*'s *.

20th. *Wedneſday.* This morning, after travelling about ſeven miles, we croſſed the *Tuſkerora* mountain, which is very high, and in moſt places very difficult to paſs †. In riding three miles on the other ſide of this mountain, we came to a houſe ‡ where a number of people

* The houſe where he lives was attacked by the *Indians* in the late war, the owner of it killed, and, if I am not miſtaken, ſome others. While the *Indians* were pillaging the houſe and plantation, in order to carry off what ſuited them, a number of the countrymen armed came upon them; a ſmart ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the countrymen had the better. The *Indians* were obliged to fly, and carried off their wounded, but left all their booty behind them.

† Not far from where we paſſed to-day, after croſſing the mountain, a block-houſe, or ſome little fortification, was built by a number of the inhabitants for their protection in time of war. The *Indians*, who very probably were watching them, took the advantage one day, when moſt of the men were about their buſineſs, and attacked the place, and killed and captivated all that were in it. So that the poor men found on their return, to their unſpeakable grief, their wives and children all carried off; and what ſtill added to their concern, the fears of their being put to death in the moſt barbarous manner.

‡ The houſe I preached at to-day was alſo attacked by the *Indians:* ſome were killed in the houſe, and others captivated. It was truly affecting to ſee, almoſt in every place

people were convened, whom I preached to, they promiſed to attend ſermon to-morrow, and give us an account of their ſituation, numbers, *&c.* After ſermon we rode to Mr. *William Graham*'s, about three miles from hence, and lodged at his houſe.

21ſt. *Thurſday.* After riding about two miles and a half, we came to a place where the people had begun to build a houſe for worſhip, before the late war, but by accident had been burned. Here Mr. *Duffield* preached to a number of people convened, who after ſermon informed us that this valley of *Tuſkerora* is about thirty-two miles in length; between ſix and ſeven miles broad in the middle, and about ten miles wide at the lower end next to *Juniata* river.

There are about eighty-four families living in this valley, who propoſe to build two houſes for worſhip; one about fourteen miles from the upper end of the valley, and the other ten miles below

on the frontiers, marks of the ravages of the cruel and barbarous enemy. Houſes and fences burned, houſhold furniture deſtroyed, the cattle killed, and horſes either killed or carried off, and to hear the people relate the horrid ſcenes that were acted. Some had their parents killed and ſcalped, in a barbarous manner, before their eyes, and themſelves captivated. Women ſaw their huſbands killed and ſcalped, while they themſelves were led away by the bloody

below it, towards *Juniata* river. As their circumſtances, at preſent, are ſuch, that they cannot ſupport the goſpel, they purpoſe to join with the people ſettled upon the other ſide of *Juniata*; but hope in a few years to be able to ſupport a miniſter in the valley. We muſt ſay, upon the whole, that they appear very deſirous to have the goſpel ſettled among them, and are willing to exert themſelves to the utmoſt for that purpoſe; and as ſoon as it ſhall be in their power, they deſign to purchaſe a plantation for a parſonage. After ſermon we rode eight miles to capt. *Paterſon*'s, where we were kindly received*.

22d. *Friday.*

bloody hands of the murderers. Others related that they ſaw the cruel ſcene, and that they themſelves narrowly eſcaped.

* Here we met with one *Levi Hicks*, who had been captive with the *Indians*, from his youth, and we being very deſirous to know their preſent ſituation, and circumſtances, he gave us the following relation, that about one hundred miles weſtward of *Fort Pitt*, was an *Indian* town, called *Tuſkalawas*; and at ſome conſiderable diſtance from that was another town named *Kighalamtegha*, where *Natatwhelman*, the king of the *Delawares*, lived; and from thence, about ten miles or more, was one called *Moghwhiſton*, i. e. *Worm-Town*, having about twenty houſes; that ſeventeen miles thence was another town, named *Ogh-ki-taw-mikaw*, i. e. *White-corn-Town*; that this was the largeſt, he ſuppoſed, in theſe parts; that about twenty miles farther, was a *Shau-wa-nagh Town*; that there was another at ſome diſtance,

22d. *Friday*.. Preached in the woods, as we have done moſtly hitherto, two miles on the north ſide of *Juniata*. Here the people, ſome years ago, began to build a houſe for worſhip, but did not finiſh it, but expect ſoon to do it. This congregation extends about twenty miles along the river, and its breadth from *Juniata* to the head of the river called *Kochalamis*, is about ten miles; and in this extent there are but fifty families, who meet together for worſhip. They purpoſe joining *Tuſkerora* ſettlement, at preſent, till ſuch time as they ſhall be able to ſupport a miniſter themſelves; which they expect to do in ſome years if peace continues; and, as ſoon as they can, to procure a plantation for a parſonage. In ſhort, theſe poor people, as well as thoſe of *Tuſkerora*, before mentioned, are very deſirous of having the goſpel ſettled amongſt them, and for that

diſtance, called *Sugh-cha-ungh*, that is, the *Salt-lick*, of about twenty houſes. In this town, he told us, there was an *Indian* that ſpoke to the *Indians* about religion; that forty miles farther was a town called *Migh-chi-laghpieſta*, that is the *Big-lick*. He told us, that he thought, from ſome things he obſerved among the *Indians*, that they would be deſirous of hearing the goſpel. This intelligence, with ſome other circumſtances related to us by an *Indian* trader, gave us ſome encouragement to venture out among them.

purpoſe

purpoſe appeared forward, and willing to do every thing in their power; but at preſent the people here, and in other places, that have ſuffered ſo much by the war, have a number of difficulties to ſtruggle with; as they have to begin the world anew.

After ſermon we returned to capt. *Paterſon*'s, where Mr. *Duffield* and I agreed to part for ſome days, the better to be able to anſwer the great deſign of our miſſion; for by theſe means we ſhould be able to viſit double the places, and preach to double the people we could have done, had we been together. Accordingly Mr. *Duffield* propoſed to go to the *Path-valley*, great and little *Coves*, and to ſet out this evening in his way to the firſt of theſe places, where he intended to preach next ſabbath; and I purpoſed to viſit the new ſettlements up the river *Juniata*.

23d. *Saturday.* Remained at capt. *Paterſon*'s.

24th. *Sabbath.* Preached near the mouth of *Tuſkerora* river (where it empties itſelf into *Juniata*) to a large congregation collected from different quarters, and ſome from afar. The audience appeared very attentive, and much engaged. I would fain hope ſome good impreſſions were made upon the minds of a number that attended to-day. In the afternoon, being

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in the open air, we were interrupted by a very heavy ſhower of rain, attended with a high wind and ſharp thunder, which obliged us to take ſhelter in a neighbouring houſe as well as we could. The women, and a great part of the men crouded into it, and there I finiſhed my diſcourſe. After ſermon, I went to a houſe about a mile off, and baptized a child born laſt night, and returned to capt. *Paterſon*'s in the evening.

25th. *Monday*. Sat out from capt. *Paterſon*'s this morning, as early as we could, on our journey, accompanied with *Joſeph* the interpreter, and *Levi Hicks*, mentioned before, as being many years a priſoner among the *Indians*. I underſtood he was conſiderably impreſſed under the word yeſterday, and therefore was deſirous to hear more ſermons. We travelled up *Juniata* river, eight miles through a bad road, to a place called the *Narrows*, where a rocky mountain bounds ſo cloſe upon the river, as to leave only a ſmall path, along the bank, for the moſt part; and, this for about ten miles, very uneven: at this time alſo greatly incumbred by trees fallen acroſs it, blown up from the roots, ſome time ago, by a hard gale of wind; ſo that we were obliged to walk ſome part of the way, and in ſome places to go along the edge of the water. After riding about twenty-

one

one miles, we came to Mr. *Thomas Holts* *, much fatigued, where we reſted an hour or two, and refreſhed ourſelves, and fed our horſes.

We proceeded on our journey, the road being now pretty good, the land we paſſed over, for the moſt part, level, ſome of it very rich, yet uninhabitated. Night coming on, and it being very dark, we were at a difficulty to find our way; and rain coming on, at the ſame time, added to our diſtreſs. We began to conclude we muſt take up our lodging in the woods, but a kind providence at laſt brought us to a little houſe, where we were received kindly, and entertained in the beſt manner, that was in the people's power.

26th. *Tueſday.* Finding that notice of my preaching to-day, had not been ſufficiently ſpread through this ſettlement, the man of the houſe, where I lodged, ſent this morning betimes,

* Not far from his houſe ſtood *Fort Grenville*, erected there the laſt war, and garriſoned by a ſmall number of provincial troops. This place was attacked by the ſavage enemy. Lieutenant *Armſtrong*, and the few men under his command, made a noble defence, for ſome time, till at laſt the enemy found means to ſet the fort on fire, which was made only of wood. A breach, by this means, being made, the commanding officer was killed, and the remaining troops, with ſuch of the inhabitants, who had fled there for refuge, were either killed or taken priſoners.

in order to notify my preaching to the people, that lived at ſome conſiderable diſtance up the river; while I at the ſame time croſſed the river at a fording-place, to a houſe, and from thence ſent notice to thoſe living on that ſide of the river. By twelve o'clock a conſiderable number of people were collected at a place in the woods, where a mill was building, near to which a houſe for worſhip is intended to be built, as being moſt eſſential to the inhabitants in thoſe parts. While the people were convening, it began to rain, and the rain continuing, obliged as many as could to croud into a ſmall houſe. While I was preaching, and the people were very attentive, we were alarmed by a rattle-ſnake creeping into the houſe, among the people, ſuppoſed to have got in under the logs of the houſe, it being pretty open, but this venomous creature was happily diſcovered, and killed before it did any damage. Scarcely were the people well compoſed again, before we were alarmed anew, by a ſnake of another kind, being diſcovered among the people, which was alſo killed, without any detriment, beſides diſturbing us. The providence of God appeared very remarkable in preſerving us from the venom of the creatures, and more ſo, as theſe people were ſo crouded together, as that it might be

be a juſt matter of wonder how theſe creatures could crawl through the congregation without being ſome way offended by them, which always excites them to bite: however the auditors all got compoſed again, and were attentive the remaining part of the diſcourſe, which was the firſt ſermon ever preached in theſe parts.——Here I baptized ſeveral children; and after ſermon rode about four miles and a half with one of the audience, and lodged at his houſe.

This ſettlement, on both ſides the river *Juniata*, conſiſting at preſent of about eighty families, extends from the place called the *Narrows*, mentioned before, to where the river *Aughwick* empties itſelf into the *Juniata*.—The ſettlement is about twenty-five miles in length; and in the center, ſeven miles broad.

There is another ſettlement juſt began, conſiſting, at preſent, of ſix or ſeven families, four miles from the center of the former, over a mountain, called *Kithaquaquilla*, or *Great Valley*, extending about thirty miles, and five or ſix wide. As the land here is very good, a greater number of people is expected to ſettle there in the ſpring. Both theſe places propoſe joining, in order to make one congregation.—They are deſirous of having a miniſter ſettled among them as ſoon as may be, and appear to be willing to

do as much towards his ſupport, as their preſent low circumſtances will admit.

27th. *Wedneſday.* I baptized a child this morning, brought to my lodging, and then ſat out in company with ſeveral people. I rode about eight miles, and preached to a ſmall auditory, convened for that purpoſe, who appeared attentive. I baptized ſeveral children, and lodged near the place, at Mr. *John M'Mickael*'s*.

28th. *Thurſday.* Rained laſt night and this morning till 9 o'clock, when we ſat out for *Fort Littleton*, croſſing *Juniata*, at the mouth of *Aughwick* river, and being conducted by the man, in

* Here, and in many other places on this river, is very rich land, uſually diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Bottom-Land*, excellent for hemp, and *Indian* corn; but it is ſo rich, that it muſt be cultivated ſome years, and ſowed or planted with other grain or hemp, before it will produce good wheat. It abounds with fine black walnut timber; and the people ſettled on this river have an advantage above many others on the frontiers; and that is, of carrying down the river, when the water riſes but a little with the rains, their produce, and floating down walnut boards to *Harris*'s or *Wright*'s ferry, on *Suſquehanah* river, the former within thirty-five, and the latter about eight miles off *Lancaſter* town, (which is ſixty five miles from *Philadelphia*) where they have a market for their produce; ſo that probably they will be able in ſome years, if peace continues, to ſupport a miniſter among them.

whoſe

whoſe houſe we lodged, about twelve or fourteen miles along a ſmall path which led up the river *Aughweek*, croſſing the bendings of it a number of times, (the land chiefly level, and ſome very rich near the river) we paſſed by an old *Indian* town, now deſerted, where *Fort Shirley* was built in the late war.—Hitherto we ſaw but two or three houſes.—We halted a little while on a natural meadow, ſituated on a bend of the river *Aughweek*, to let our horſes feed. After travelling about thirty miles to-day, we arrived a little before night at *Fort Littleton*, and put up at Mr. *Bird*'s, a public-houſe.

29th. *Friday*. Preached to a ſmall congregation of people, who live about this place. In the evening Mr. *Duffield* arrived, and gave the following account of his tour.

23d. *Auguſt*, *Saturday*. Rode to *John Blair*'s, in the *Path Valley*, thirty miles.

24th. *Sabbath*. Preached to a conſiderable large congregation.

25th. *Monday*. Preached at the place deſigned for building a houſe for worſhip; and received the following information from the people, of their ſituation and circumſtances.

This *Path-Valley* is twenty-three miles in length, and in general about three miles in breadth. In one townſhip, called *Fanet*, there

are

are about ſeventy families, who are deſirous of the goſpel, and willing to ſupport it, according to their abilities, being very unanimous. they have fixed upon a place, about eight or nine miles from the head of the valley, where they propoſe ſoon to build a houſe for worſhip; and as this valley will admit of a number of people more to ſettle in it, they expect to be able to ſupport a miniſter, after ſome years; but at preſent they labour under the ſame difficulties as their neighbours in the other villages and places on the frontiers, juſt beginning the world, in a manner, after their late diſtreſſes by the war. They have no proſpect at preſent of a glebe for a miniſter, as the land is all taken up; but are deſirous to procure one as ſoon as it ſhall be in their power. Lodged at Mr. *Francis Elliot*'s.

26th, and 27th days. Tarried at *Cannogocheauge* ſettlement.

28th. *Thurſday*. At Mr. *Smith*'s.

29th. *Friday*. Preached in the ſettlement * of the great *Cove*, to a conſiderable congregation. This place is about twenty miles in length and three wide. The land is conſiderably broken, ſo that it will not accomodate a number of ſet-

* This place ſuffered greatly by the late war.

tlers

tlers in proportion to the extent of it: at preſent there are about fifteen families, who are deſirous of, and willing, according to their circumſtances, to ſupport the goſpel. They expect as many more people to ſettle near them. They propoſe joining *Cannogocheauge*, and to build a houſe for worſhip as ſoon as they are able, being at preſent in the ſame difficult circumſtances with other places expoſed on the frontiers to the barbarous enemy. They chooſe that what aſſiſtance may be allowed them by the ſociety, ſhould be towards building a houſe for worſhip.—After ſermon I rode to *Fort Littleton*, where I met with Mr. *Beatty*.

30th. *Saturday*. Sat out early this morning, in company with Mr. *Duffield:* breakfaſted at Mr. *M'Connel*'s, at the *Sideling* hill, (after riding ten miles) and having travelled ten miles more, we croſſed the ſouth branch of *Juniata* river. We proceeded to Mr. *Thomas Urie*'s, where we refreſhed ourſelves, and fed our horſes. Here we met with Mr. *Dougherty* from *Bedford*, who came in order to accompany and conduct us into that town. We arrived at *Bedford* in the evening, having travelled to-day about thirty-three miles, and lodged at Mr. *Dougherty*'s, at his invitation.

31ſt. *Au-*

31ſt. *Sabbath.* Preached in the forenoon to a large and attentive audience, aſſembled in a new houſe in the town. Mr. *Duffield* preached in the afternoon. Baptized ſeveral children.

1ſt. *September, Monday.* Preached at the deſire of the people, who promiſed to tranſmit to us, on our return to *Carliſle*, by Mr. *Dougherty*, an account of their numbers, ſituation, *&c.*

2d. *Tueſday.* Sat out for *Fort Pitt*, being brought on our way by our friends Meſſrs. *Ormſby* and *Dougherty*. After riding about fifteen miles, we came to the foot of *Alleghgeny* mountain, and having fed our horſes, we began to aſcend the ſteep, which is two miles from the foot to the top of the mountain. We travelled about eight miles farther, along a bad road, to *Edmund*'s *Swamp*, and lodged at Mr. *John Miller*'s *.

3d. *Wedneſday.*

* Here we met with one *Benjamin Sutton*, who had been taken captive by the *Indians*, had been in different nations, and lived many years among them.

He informed us, when he was with the *Chactaw Nation*, or *Tribe of Indians*, at the *Miſſiſſippi* river, he went to an *Indian* town, a very conſiderable diſtance from *New-Orleans*, whoſe inhabitants were of different complexions, not ſo tawny as thoſe of the other *Indians*, and who ſpoke *Welch*.

He

3d. *Wedneſday.* Sat out early this morning, having had but poor lodging, went about five

He ſaid he ſaw a book among them, which he ſuppoſed was a *Welch* bible, which they carefully kept wrapped up in a ſkin, but that they could not read it; and that he heard ſome of thoſe *Indians* afterwards in the *Lower Shawanaugh* town, ſpeak *Welch* with one *Lewis*, a *Welchman*, captive there. This *Welch* tribe now live on the weſt ſide of the *Miſſiſippi* river, a great way above *New-Orleans*.

Levi Hicks, before mentioned, as being among the *Indians* from his youth, told us he had been, when attending an embaſſy, in a town of *Indians*, on the weſt ſide of *Miſſiſippi* river, who talked *Welch* (as he was told, for he did not underſtand them); and our interpreter, *Joſeph*, ſaw ſome *Indians*, whom he ſuppoſed to be of the ſame tribe, who talked *Welch*, for he told us ſome of the words they ſaid, which he knew to be *Welch*, as he had been acquainted with ſome *Welch* people.

Correſpondent hereto, I have been informed, that many years ago, a clergyman went from *Britain* to *Virginia*, and having lived ſome time there, went from thence to *South-Carolina*; but, either becauſe the climate did not agree with him, or for ſome other reaſon, reſolved to return to *Virginia*, and accordingly ſet out by land, accompanied with ſome other perſons; but travelling through the back parts of the country, which was then very thinly inhabited, ſuppoſing, very probably, this was the neareſt way, he fell in with a party of *Indian* warriors, going to attack the inhabitants of *Virginia*, againſt whom they had declared war.

The *Indians*, upon examining the clergyman, and finding that he was going to *Virginia*, looked upon him and his

five miles to *Stony Creek*, and breakfaſted. From thence we went to the foot of *Lawrel Hill*, eight miles;

companions as belonging to *Virginia*, and therefore took them all priſoners, and let them know they muſt die. The clergyman, in preparation for another world, went to prayer, and, being a *Welchman*, prayed in the *Welch* language, poſſibly becauſe this language was moſt familiar to him, or to prevent the *Indians* underſtanding him.—One or more of the party of the *Indians* was much ſurpriſed to hear him pray in their language.—Upon this they ſpake to him, and finding that he could underſtand their ſpeech, they got the ſentence of death reverſed—and thus this happy circumſtance was the means of ſaving his life.

They took him back with them into their country, where he found a tribe, whoſe native language was *Welch*, though the dialect was a little different from his own, which he ſoon came to underſtand. They ſhewed him a book, which he found to be the bible, but which they could not read, and, if I miſtake not, his ability to read it tended to raiſe their regard for him.

He ſtayed among them ſome time, and endeavoured to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion. He at length propoſed to go back to his own country, and return to them with ſome other teachers, who would be able to inſtruct them in their own language, to which propoſal they conſenting, he accordingly ſet out from thence, and arrived in *Britain* with full intention to return to them with ſome of his countrymen, in order to teach theſe *Indians* chriſtianity. But I was acquainted, that not long after his arrival, he was taken ſick and died, which put an end to his ſchemes.

Sutton

miles; croſſing which, we arrived at *fort Ligonier*, thirteen miles: in the evening, put up at ſome

Sutton farther told us, that among the *Delaware* tribe of *Indians*, he obſerved their women to follow, exactly, the cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* women, in keeping ſeparate from the reſt ſeven days, at certain times, as preſcribed in the *Moſaic* law: that from ſome old men among them, he had heard the following traditions—That of old time their people were divided by a river, nine parts of ten paſſing over the river, and one part tarrying behind; that they know not, for certainty, how they came firſt to this continent; but account thus for their firſt coming into theſe parts, near where they are now ſettled—that a king of their nation, when they formerly lived far to the weſt, left his kingdom to his two ſons—that the one ſon making war upon the other, the latter thereupon determined to depart, and ſeek ſome new habitation—that, accordingly he ſat out, accompanied by a number of his people; and that, after wandering to and fro, for the ſpace of forty years, they at length came to *Delaware* river, where they ſettled three hundred and ſeventy years ago. The way, he ſays, they keep an account of this, is, by putting on a black bead of wampum every year ſince, on a belt they have for that purpoſe.

He farther added—That the king of that country, from whence they came ſome years ago, when the *French* were in poſſeſſion of *Fort Duqueſne*, ſent out ſome of his people, in order, if poſſible, to find out that part of their nation, that departed to ſeek a new country; and, that theſe men, after ſeeking ſix years, came at length to the *Pickt* town, on the *Oubache* river, and there happened to meet with a *Delaware Indian*, named, *Jack*, after the *Engliſh*, whoſe

ſome ſort of a public houſe, and waited upon the commanding officer, who invited us to ſpend the evening with him, which we accepted of.

4th. *Thurſday.* Sat out, and rode twenty-five miles to *Buſhy Run*, where we put up†.

5th. *Friday.* Sat out early this morning, and rode to *Turtle* creek, eight miles, before breakfaſt; and riding eighteen miles more, we ar-

language they could underſtand; and that, by him, they were conducted to the *Delaware* towns, where they tarried one year, and returned—that the *French* ſent a white man with them, properly furniſhed, to bring back an account of their country, who, the *Indians* ſaid, could not return in leſs than fourteen years, for they lived a great way towards the ſun-ſetting. It is now, *Sutton* ſays, about ten or twelve years ſince they went away.

He added, that the *Delawares* obſerve the feaſt of firſt-fruits, or the green-corn feaſt. So far—*Sutton.*

† This place is famous for a battle, fought the laſt war, with the *Indians.* The enemy attacked a pretty ſtrong party of *Britiſh* and provincial troops, under the command of Col. *Bequet*, having a convoy with them, going to relieve *Fort Pitt*, then inveſted by the enemy.

The battle laſted part of one day, and was renewed the next, with great courage on both ſides, and uncertain, till at laſt Col. *Bequet*, by a ſtratagem, drew the enemy into an ambuſcade, and defeated them. Several of their great men were killed, and a number of ours alſo were killed and wounded: however, our troops got to the fort, and the enemy was obliged to raiſe the ſeige.

rived

rived at *Fort Pitt*, a little before night. We immediately waited upon the commanding officer, Capt. *Murray*, who received us politely, and introduced us to the Rev. Mr. *M^c Lagan*, chaplain to the forty-ſecond regiment, part of which are now in garriſon here.

6th. *Saturday*. Remained at *Pittſburgh*, and received much civility from the corps of officers here. They invited us to their table, and the commanding officer ordered us a room in the fort while we ſtayed. Mr. *M^c Lagan*, with ſome other gentlemen of the place, furniſhed us with blankets to ſleep in, and ſome other neceſſaries, ſo that we fared as well as we could expect.

7th. *Sabbath*. At the invitation of Mr. *M^c Lagan*, preached in the forenoon, to the garriſon in the fort, while Mr. *Duffield*, at the ſame time, preached to the people, who live in ſome kind of a town without the fort, to whom I alſo preached in the afternoon.—The audience were very attentive, and much engaged.

In the evening Mr. *Gibſon*, a trader here, who ſpeaks the *Indian* language, introduced an *Indian* to us, called the *White Mingoe*, the head man of his town. He was one of the ſix nations, who lives upon the *Allegh-geny* river, four miles from the fort. We opened to him our deſign

in

in coming to theſe parts, by Mr. *Gibſon*, at which he appeared well pleaſed. We appointed to meet him and his people at a place on this ſide of the river, to-morrow, in order to ſpeak to them about religion.

8th. *Monday.* Rained in the morning. We heard the *Mingoe Indian* did not return home to give his people notice of our coming to viſit them, according to promiſe, and therefore have no proſpect of ſpeaking farther to him and his people about religion. Spent the forenoon in acquainting ourſelves with the ſituation and diſpoſition of the *Indians*, as far as we had any opportunity, either from ſuch of the *Indians* themſelves, who are come here to trade, or ſuch as are beſt acquainted with them; and upon the whole we find nothing diſcouraging. *

9th. *Tueſday.*

* In the afternoon we croſſed the *Moccenghebela* river, accompanied by two gentlemen, and went up the hill, the great hill oppoſite the fort, by a very ſteep and difficult aſcent, in order to take a view of that part of it more particularly from which the garriſon is ſupplied with coals, which is not far from the top. A fire being made by the workmen not far from the place where they dug the coal, and left burning when they went away, by the ſmall duſt communicated itſelf to the body of coals, and ſet it on fire, and has been burning now almoſt a twelvemonth entirely under ground,

9th. *Tueſday*. Having ſought direction of heaven and the divine preſence, we reſolved to attempt a journey to *Kighalampegha*, an *Indian* town about 130 miles from hence. This place we fixed upon becauſe it was moſt central to the other *Indian* towns, and becauſe the king or head man of the *Delaware* nation lived there, whom it was neceſſary to conſult before we attempted any thing among his people; and alſo becauſe we were informed that the *Indians* there were conſulting ſomething about religion. We

ground, for the ſpace of twenty yards or more along the face of the hill or rock, the way the vein of coal extends, the ſmoke aſcending up thro' the chinks of the rocks. The earth in ſome places is ſo warm, that we could hardly bear to ſtand on it: At one place where the ſmoak came up we opened an hole in the earth till it was ſo hot as to burn paper thrown into it: The ſteam that came out was ſo ſtrong of ſulphur that we could ſcarce bear it. We found pieces of matter there, ſome of which appeared to be ſulphur, others nitre, and ſome a mixture of both. If their ſtrata be large in this mountain, it may become a volcano. The ſmoak ariſing out of this place appears to be much greater in rainy weather than at other times. The fire has already undermined ſome part of the mountain, ſo that great fragments of it, and trees with their roots are fallen down its face. On the top of the mountain is a very rich ſoil, covered with a fine verdure, and has a very eaſy ſlope on the other ſide that which we aſcended, ſo that it may be eaſily cultivated.

deſired

deſired the *Indians*, who were returning home from the fort, where they had been trading, to let their people in their different towns know of our coming and deſign, and alſo to meet us at their head town.

We were much engaged this day in preparing for our journey, and received much aſſiſtance from the gentlemen of this place. Mr. *Gibſon*, a trader here, who was taken priſoner laſt war by the *Indians*, and was adopted into one of their chief families, and was well reſpected by them; recommended us to one of the chiefs by a letter and a ſtring of wampum beads, according to their cuſtom in ſuch caſes, and ſent by us ſome wampum as a particular preſent to one of them.

Mr. *Duffield* preached in the evening in the town to a conſiderable congregation, who appeared very attentive. From ſome things we obſerved, we have good reaſon to think our preaching here has not been in vain ‡.

10th. *Wedneſday.*

‡ Our interpreter *Joſeph*, who has been improving every opportunity in converſing with his countrymen the *Indians*, about the goſpel, who are come here to trade, met with an *Indian*, who appeared to be a ſober man, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction and pleaſure on hearing of our going out to teach the *Indians* religion. He told *Joſeph* that the great Spirit

10th. *Wedneſday.* While we were much engaged in preparing for our journey, a perſon came to us under deep impreſſions, inquiring what he ſhould do to be ſaved. After ſome converſation I gave him a book, but he beſought me and inſiſted upon my writing ſomething ſuitable to his caſe, and what might alſo be of ſervice to others of his companions, to whom he intended to ſhew it: I complied with his requeſt, and wrote as much as my time would any way admit of.

Spirit above, meaning God, had ſpoken or told an *Indian* in his heart laſt fall, (which is about a year ago) that this ſummer fall, two white men (for ſo they diſtinguiſhed the *Engliſh*) ſhould come and teach the *Indians* religion, and he added, he believed we were the men.

This morning he came to *Joſeph*'s lodging, in order to ſee, and, I ſuppoſe, to converſe farther with him. We happening to be there at breakfaſt, he invited this *Indian*, who accordingly accepted the invitation. I deſired our interpreter, after breakfaſt, to let him know the meaning of aſking a bleſſing upon our food, and returning thanks for it. He replied, it was very fit that the great Being above ſhould be acknowledged for his goodneſs to us, and that he and ſome others did ſo.

We heard that this man, and about eighteen or nineteen more *Indians*, or families, had ſeparated from the reſt, and lived in a town by themſelves, called *Suka-hung*, in order to lead a more ſober life, and that there they worſhipped God, ſome way or other, as well as they knew how.

The commanding officer whom we waited upon, being ready to contribute every thing in his power to forward our deſigns, gave us a letter of recommendation, with a ſtring of wampum, to the head men of the *Indian* tribes, inviting them likewiſe to return to their old towns up the *Alegh-geny* river. After a conſtant ſcene of hurry, we got ready and ſat off about the middle of the afternoon, being accompanied down to the river ſide by our good friend Mr. *M^c Lagan*, and ſeveral other gentlemen, who have ſhewn us much kindneſs, and were greatly aſſiſting to us. We croſſed the *Alegh-geny* river in a canoe, ſwimming our horſes along ſide of it. We then proceeded on our journey down the river *Ohio* about five miles, having on our right hand a high hill, and encamped upon the bank of the river about eight or nine o'clock, where we had plenty of herbage for our horſes,—the night cloudy and dark.

11th. *Thurſday*. Sat out in the morning, the weather dull and gloomy, and after travelling nine or ten miles, moſt part along the river ſide, we came to an old *Indian* town now deſerted, called by the traders *Log-Town*, ſituated on a fine rich high bank, covered with fine graſs, commanding a moſt beautiful proſpect both up and down the river *Ohio*. We halted about noon to let our horſes feed, then proceeded to

Great

Great Beaver creek about ten miles, which we croſſed, and made up our fire on the rich high bank on the weſt ſide, which afforded our horſes exceeding good paſture, equal to a meadow. — In the night there fell a heavy rain, which wetted us much, notwitſtanding all our efforts to ſcreen ourſelves *.

12th. *Friday.* This morning dark and heavy, with ſmall rain—our cloaths being wetted laſt night, made our condition not very comfortable. The clouds, after ſome time, beginning to break, we ſat out, but were obliged to travel ſlow, the road, in many places, being hilly and all the way ſlippery, from the rain that fell laſt night, and to-day—in the forenoon we had ſeveral ſhowers, in the hardeſt of which we endeavoured to ſhelter ourſelves under the trees.

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* Here the *Indians* had once a conſiderable town, but deſerted it the laſt war, in order to get at a greater diſtance from the *Engliſh*.

The ſituation is very pleaſant, the land being rich and level for a conſiderable way upon this river, encompaſſed at a diſtance by a riſing ground, or ſmall hill. A great part of this land that had been cleared, is now grown up again with ſmall bruſh, or under-wood. The land we paſſed over yeſterday and to-day, appears, in general, to be ſtrong and good. The low land on the *Ohio*, and on the ſmall rivers that empty into it, is very rich, and abounds with walnut timber.

After travelling about twelve miles, we came to the ſecond *Beaver* river, which we croſſed, and proceeded ſix miles farther to the third *Beaver* river, where we encamped, having but poor food for our horſes: however, we were obliged to put up with it, not being able to reach any better place.

Joſeph, our interpreter, who went on before us this morning, in order to hunt for us, returned without any thing, ſo that we had poor living for ourſelves as well as horſes: however, we had ſome bread, for which we had reaſon to be thankful. There fell ſome rain in the night, but not ſo much as to wet us through our fence which we had ſet up at our backs.

13th. *Saturday.* The morning cloudy; we ſat out, but had not travelled far before a heavy ſhower, from the north-weſt, came upon us, from which we ſheltered ourſelves as well as we could under trees, as there was no thunder.—The weather clearing up after ſome time, we proceeded, and travelled to-day, as near as we could conjecture, about ſixteen or ſeventeen miles. We halted upon a riſing ground, and kindled up a fire, having a ſmall ſpring of water on one ſide in a valley.

14th. *Sabbath*,

14th. *Sabbath.* We reſted, and kept the ſabbath as well as we could; and, from a ſuppoſition that this was the firſt ſabbath ever kept in this wilderneſs, we gave the place the name of *Sabbath-ridge.* It grew very dark and heavy towards evening. A number of *Indians* that live in *Tuſkalawa*, being on their return from *Fort Pitt*, where they had been trading, came up to us a little before night, having about an hundred gallons of rum with them. They wondered we did not travel that day—we told them the reaſon. They encamped by us. Their head man ſeemed very reſerved and diſtant—we, however, made ourſelves as agreeable to him as we could. We took notice of ſome of them, particularly thoſe who were ſick—we made ſome tea, and ſent it them, and a piece of cheeſe, (the laſt we had) with which they were pleaſed.

Our interpreter converſed with the head man, and ſome others of them that came to ſit awhile with us at our fire. A very heavy rain came on in the night, which wetted us, notwithſtanding the precaution we had taken to guard againſt it. The heavineſs of the rain drove one of the *Indians* to take ſhelter under our fence, to which we made him welcome. Sleeped and waked the night away as well as we could.

15th. *Monday.*

15th. *Monday.* The rain continued the forenoon, ſo that we began to give up hopes of being able to travel to-day.

We viſited the *Indians* who were ſick, expecting to find them very bad, as they had been expoſed to ſuch a heavy rain; yet, to my ſurpriſe, I found a woman who appeared to be the worſt laſt night, ſitting up preparing ſome corn for breakfaſt, for the family. As they had no meat, two or three of the men went out to hunt in the morning, but returned without killing any thing, which was a diſappointment to us as well as them, for we expected to have bought ſome veniſon of them.

The weather clearing up, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we decamped, and ſat out in company with the *Indians.* Our interpreter, a little before night, went off from us on one ſide of the road, to look for a deer, as we wanted meat; while we proceeded with the *Indians*, about eight miles further, when we ſtopt, and made up a fire on a branch of *Tuſkalawa* river.

As our interpreter did not come up with us before dark, it gave us ſome anxiety, leſt he ſhould have miſſed his way, and ſo have been loſt in this vaſt wilderneſs, or have met with ſome unfavourable accident, ſo that we left caring

ing for the veniſon, out of a greater care for him.

When I was juſt about lying down, without ſupper, our interpreter appeared with a young deer on his back, to our no ſmall joy. We immediately divided the meat among the *Indians*, who were ſeparated into three parties. We gave to each party a quarter, and reſerved the other to our own uſe. This ſupply came ſeaſonable to them as well as ourſelves.

16th. *Tueſday.* Viſited the *Indians*, our fellow travellers, this morning; who, after ſome free converſation about ſome affairs, reſpecting religion, began to be more open and affable, eſpecially their chief man, whoſe reſervedneſs and diſtance hitherto, I underſtood, was owing to a miſtake, for he took us to be *Moravians*: for, whatever influence theſe people have had hitherto on theſe ſavages, yet their conduct, (it ſeems, of late) has been ſuch, as to have given them great umbrage.

As ſoon as the *Indians* had got up their horſes, we ſat out in company with them. We croſſed ſeveral branches, and one river much larger than the reſt, which were all much ſwelled by the late heavy rains; and, having paſſed over two or three *Savannahs*, or plains, (ſome of which are two or three miles broad) we arrived

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at *Tuſkalawa* town, a little before night, having travelled to-day about twenty miles.

Our fellow traveller, the head man of this town, who was now become very friendly, invited us to tarry at his houſe. We accepted the favour, and were treated with a great deal of reſpect by him and his family, in their way. They brought us ſome green corn in the huſk, and cucumbers, (the ſame they themſelves lived on) which we thankfully received.—We roaſted ſome of the corn, and eat the cucumber without ſalt or any thing, which would not have been very agreeable at another time. As we had ſaved a little piece of veniſon left laſt night, we made ſome broth in the evening, and gave part to our hoſt and his family.

17th. *Wedneſday.* Part of the family and ſome other *Indians*, being preſent this morning at worſhip, we deſired our interpreter, after prayer, to explain it, and let them know, particularly, that we had prayed, and would pray to the great Spirit above for them, at which they appeared to be pleaſed. We took leave of our kind hoſt, *Apa-ma-legh-on*, who ſent a young man to bring us ſeven or eight miles on our way.

In paſſing through the lower part of this town, we obſerved *Indians* drinking, and ſome drunk, with the rum they had lately brought from *Fort Pitt*. In theſe circumſtances they generally appear terrible, and behave like mad men: it is therefore very dangerous for white people to be with or near them at that time; however, we paſſed by unmoleſted, and croſſed the weſt branch of *Tuſkalawa* river, at the fording-place a little below the town, where it is about one hundred yards wide.

We travelled about ten miles weſt, near to a ſmall river, called *Morgerit* creek: we followed the courſe of that river, which is near ſouth, about five or ſix miles, then croſſed where it is about fifteen or twenty yards wide. Proceeding about a mile farther, we encamped on the bank of the river *Muſkingham*, which appears to be near one hundred or one hundred and twenty yards broad *.

* This country appears to abound with ſavannahs or plains, with little or no wood growing on them, and the farther weſtward the larger they appear to be. We paſſed over one to-day, that does not appear to be leſs than three or four miles in extent, to which we gave the name of *Squirrel* plain, from our having chaſed a ſquirrel on it, which at length we took, and it came in good ſeaſon to make us ſome ſoop.

18th. *Thurſday.* We ſat out early this morning, intending, if poſſible, to reach the *Indian* town we propoſed to viſit before night. We travelled therefore, without halting, through exceſſive bad ways; the moſt part being nothing but ſwamps, or low wet ground, thickets, and deep gutters, for eighteen or twenty miles, till we came near the town, our courſe hitherto being chiefly ſouth, inclining ſometimes to the eaſt and ſometimes to the weſt.

We at laſt came in ſight of the town, about three of the clock, ourſelves and horſes being much fatigued, we were very glad to have reached the place we had ſo long looked for, and, I truſt, thankful to that gracious God, who had hitherto preſerved and conducted us. We entered the town on one ſide, and at the firſt houſe to which we were providentially directed, lived a widow woman, a near relation of our interpreter's, whom he had not ſeen for many years, nor did he know where ſhe lived. They both ſeemed very agreeably ſurpriſed on ſeeing each other ſo unexpectedly, and we could not help looking upon this event as a token for good. The woman very kindly invited us to tarry with her, and we accepted of her kindneſs. She preſently made ready ſome veniſon, and baked cakes under the aſhes, in their way, and ſat before

fore us, which came very ſeaſonable and acceptable.

As ſoon as our arrival in town was known, a number of the principal men came to ſee us, and took us by the hand, to whom our arrival here, ſo far as we could judge, appeared to be very acceptable.

After ſome converſation, we opened to them the deſign of our coming among them, and ſent word to *Netat-whel-man*, the king and head of the *Delaware* nation, or tribes, that we ſhould be glad to know when we might wait upon him, in order to make him acquainted with our miſſion, and deliver our meſſage.

We had a little hut aſſigned us by our landlady, in which to put our things, and were furniſhed with ſome deer ſkins, thrown on the floor to ſleep on, which was a much better way of lodging than we had hitherto found on our journey.

19th. *Friday*. We underſtood, that to-day, about one of the clock, we ſhould have audience of his majeſty, we therefore prepared for it as well as we could. One of the old *Sachems* accordingly was ſent to inform us, that the king and his council were ready to receive us, and

hear what we had to ſay.—We went accordingly to the council houſe*.

As ſoon as we entered, the king roſe from his ſeat, (which is not uſual for him, or any of their great men to do, to any perſon that comes to ſee them) took us by the hand, and gave thanks to the great Being above, the creator and preſerver of all, that we had opportunity of ſeeing each other in the wilderneſs, and appeared very glad and rejoiced on the occaſion. We were then conducted to a ſeat near his majeſty; the council ſat ſome of them near him on the ſame platform, and others on the oppoſite ſide. After ſitting awhile, according to their cuſtom on the like occaſions, I roſe up, and delivered our ſpeech, by the interpreter *Joſeph*; then ſat down,

* This houſe is a long building, with two fires in it, at a proper diſtance from each other, without any chimney or partition. The entry into it is by two doors, one at each end. Over the door a turtle was drawn, which is the enſign of their particular tribe. On each door-poſt was cut out the face of a grave old man, an emblem, I ſuppoſe, of that gravity and wiſdom that every ſenator there ought to be poſſeſſed of. On each ſide, the whole length of the houſe, within, is a platform, or bed, five feet wide, raiſed above the floor one foot and a half, made of broad ſplit pieces of wood, which ſerves equally for a bed, on which to ſleep, and a place, on which to ſit down. It is covered with an handſome matt, made of ruſhes, near the end of which the king ſat.

all

all being ſilent for ſome minutes, and then after ſome converſation, not at all relating to our ſpeech; we withdrew.

It is an invariable rule with the kings and councils of the *Indians*, when they receive an addreſs, not immediately to return an anſwer to it, but to take time for mature deliberation, and reſerve their reply to ſome future ſeaſon.

The ſubſtance of what we delivered to the king and council is as follows: "Firſt, a meſ-"ſage from the commanding officer at *Fort* "*Pitt*, informing them that their fathers, the "*Engliſh*, concerned for them, and pitying their "ſtate of ignorance, ſent now two miniſters to "aſk them, whether they would embrace the "chriſtian religion, that they might ſee clear-"ly, as we do, and that the evil ſpirit might "not tempt them any more to what is wrong. "That he expected they would treat theſe men, "ſent to them on ſuch a good errand, well; "and ſend their young men to hunt for them, "and bring them back ſafe to the fort; and, "that he wiſhed they would put in execution "what their agent and he, at the laſt treaty, "had invited them to do; namely, to return "back to their old towns, and there live, that "they might be nearer their brethren, the *Eng-*

"*liſh*,

" *liſh*, who might more eaſily ſend miniſters to " teach them.

" To the above we added, that in order to ex- " plain this matter more fully, and give them an " undoubted proof of our ſincerity, in deſiring " their welfare, we were farther to inform them, " that ſome years ago, our *Great Council* (for ſo " we called our ſynod) who met from different " provinces, once a year, to conſult about religi- " on: did appoint two of their number to come " out to ſpeak to them about the great things " of religion *; but that the war breaking out, " ſtopped up the path, and thereby prevented " their coming, for which we were very ſorry, " and therefore prayed earneſtly to the *great* " *God*, that the war, ſo hurtful to them and " us, might come to an end, and peace again

* Referring to Mr. *John Brainerd* and myſelf, who were appointed by the ſynod to viſit them; but as we were preparing for our journey, the laſt war broke out.

Had we been among the *Indians* at that juncture, we had probably ſuffered either death or captivity; and therefore it appears a very kind interpoſition of Providence, that we were not ſet out upon our miſſion.

N. B. Mr. *Brainerd* is a miſſionary from the ſociety for propagating chriſtian knowledge in *Scotland*, and is now paſtor to a congregation of chriſtian *Indians* in *New-Jerſey*.

" be

" be reſtored. That now the *great God* had " granted our requeſt.

" Our great council, therefore, again, at their " laſt meeting, thought of their poor brethren " the *Indians*, who were ſitting in darkneſs, and " appointed us to come out to our brethren, " and to take you by the hand, and ſpeak to " you about the things of *God*; and aſk you " whether you would be willing to receive the " chriſtian religion, and to have ſome miniſters " ſent among you, to inſtruct you in the goſpel, " that we might all ſerve the ſame *great God*, " and become firmly joined together as one peo- " ple; that ſo all anger and ſtrangeneſs of mind, " might be for ever done away; and that we " might be happy together *here*, and for ever " happy hereafter: and that, if it ſhall be a- " greeable to you, our brethren, we ſhould be " glad you would return to your old towns, " that we might be near you, and ſo have fre- " quent opportunities of ſpeaking to you about " the great things of the goſpel." — We then gave them a ſtring of wampum, according to their cuſtom.

In the evening *Tepiſs-cow-a-hang*, and his ſiſter, both advanced in years, came to our houſe, who both had formerly been in *New-Jerſey*, at the time of the revival of religion among the

Indians

Indians there, and had received ſome good impreſſions under the miniſtry of Mr. *David Brainerd*. They went afterwards among the *Moravians*, and were baptized by ſome of their teachers: however, for ſome time paſt, they ſeemed to have loſt what impreſſions of religion they had.—They deſired us to talk to them about religion, which I did ſome time, by the interpreter, particularly concerning backſliding; and pointed out to them, in the plaineſt manner I could, how they ſhould come to God again, through the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I then prayed with them. They were both very much affected, and took leave of us, very affectionately, with tears running down their cheeks.

20th. *Saturday*. Five of the principal men came to our hut, about two o'clock in the afternoon: and, after ſitting awhile, according to their uſual cuſtom, before they deliver any meſſage, they returned our ſtring of wampum, ſaying they could not underſtand it. We readily apprehended their meaning, ſo far as this, that they could not, conſiſtently, or did not chuſe to receive it, which made us begin to ſuſpect matters to be taking a more unfavourable turn than we afterwards found there was any real reaſon for. However, be their deſign what it would, knowing that the hearts of all men are

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in the hands of God, we kept a good countenance, determined to do the beſt we could as to our miſſion.

We then told them, we were ſorry they had not underſtood, and would again explain it, which we did accordingly, giving them back the ſtring of wampum, which they held in their hand a little while, and again returned it, ſaying, " their great man, meaning their *king*, " could not underſtand it, " whereupon we put it up. At the ſame time they told us, we muſt not be diſcouraged, and then taking out a ſtring of wampum, of two ſingle threads and one double one, they proceeded to ſpeak on the two ſingle ſtrings, one of which was *white*, the other a mixture of *black* and *white*, and told us as follows:

" Our dear brothers, What you have ſaid, " we are very well pleaſed with, as far as we can " underſtand it.—But, dear brothers, when " *William Johnſon* ſpake with us, ſome time " ago, and made a peace, which is to be ſtrong " and for ever, he told us, we muſt not regard " what any other might ſay to us. That though " a great many people, all round about, might " be ſpeaking a great many things; yet we " muſt look upon all theſe things only, as when " a dog ſleeps, and he dreams of ſomething,

" or ſomething diſturbs him, and he riſes haſtily " and gives a bark or two, but does not know " any thing, or any proper reaſon why he barks " —and juſt ſo the people all round, that may " be ſaying, ſome, one thing, and ſome, ano- " ther, are to be no more regarded, and there- " fore, they cannot underſtand, or hear any in " any other way *.

On the double ſtring they ſaid,

" Dear brothers, Some time ago, *George* " *Croghon* ſpake to us, that no other were to be " regarded; but that, as *William Johnſon*, and " he, ſhould ſay, ſo we ſhould do."

* The *Indians* make great uſe of ſimilies, particularly, in their public treaties, and ſome of them very apt and ſtriking, though they may appear uncouth to ſuch as do not underſtand their language and cuſtoms. Sir *William Johnſon*, who perfectly underſtands their genius and cuſtoms, took this ſimile, it is likely, from them, as moſt fit to anſwer his purpoſe, *viz.* To guard them againſt holding treaties with other nations, or private perſons, that might be tampering with them.

We began now to underſtand, that the reaſon of their returning our ſtring of wampum, and refuſing to treat with us in that form, was, that they looked upon it as inconſiſtent with the treaty of peace they had entered into with Sir *William Johnſon*, or, leſt it ſhould give umbrage to him; they not underſtanding the difference of treating with them about civil, and about religious affairs. This difference we took pains to explain to them afterwards.

They

They then brought out, and ſhewed us a large belt of wampum, of friendſhip, which Sir *William Johnſon* gave them.

This belt, they told us*, he held by one end, and they by the other; that when they had any thing to ſay, they muſt go along that path (meaning the white ſtreak on the belt) to *him*; and that, when he had any thing to ſay to them, *he* muſt come to that council-fire, (referring to the diamond in the middle of the belt) and there ſpeak to them.

To this they added—They believed there was a *great God* above, and deſired to ſerve him in the beſt manner they could, and they thought of him at their riſing up, and their laying down, and hoped he would look upon them, and be kind to them, and do them good.

* Belts of wampum, given on ſuch occaſions, as ſolemn pledges or ratifications of the *Treaty*, have ſome emblem or repreſentation of the nature of ſuch *Treaty*, in order, it is like, the better to keep them in mind of it.

On each edge of this, given to them by Sir *William*, were ſeveral rows of black wampum; and in the middle, ſeveral rows of white wampum, running parallel with the black; the white ſtreak between, they called the path from them to him, and him to them. In the middle of the belt was the figure of a diamond, made of white wampum, which they called the council-fire.

After a little pauſe, ſome converſation enſued, wherein they told us, we muſt not at all be diſcouraged by any thing that had paſſed in the buſineſs we came upon, but wait with patience. We replied we were not diſcouraged, as we ſaw the propiety of what they ſaid, and deſired they would conſult, and let us know whether it would be agreeable that we ſhould ſpeak to them about religion, on the morrow, which was the *Sabbath*. They then withdrew.

About four o'clock, two of the council returned, and gave our interpreter, *Joſeph*, a belt of wampum, with a ſpeech; the purport of which, was to invite the chriſtian *Indians* in *New-Jerſey*, under the care of the reverend Mr. *John Brainerd*, to come to *Qui-a-ha-ga*, a town the king and ſome of his people here had lived in, about ſeventy miles north-weſt of this place, where, as they ſaid, there was good hunting, and where they might have a *Miniſter* with them, and all the *Indians*, who deſired to hear the goſpel, as they gave us to underſtand there was a number of ſuch, might then go and ſettle with them.

This propoſal ſhewed the good diſpoſition of the *Indians* to the reception of the goſpel among them, as all *Indians* from every quarter, who might be deſirous to be inſtructed

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in chriſtianity, would have a town moſt conveniently ſituated, to which they might repair for that purpoſe. It appeared to be a kind and excellent proviſion for the free enjoyment of a goſpel-miniſter, in caſe ſome of their great men ſhould themſelves reject and diſcountenance the preaching of it in the towns where they reſided.

Theſe men alſo told us, in anſwer to our requeſt, that they would gladly hear us to-morrow, and be well pleaſed that their people would attend, again repeating to us, that we ſhould not be diſcouraged. After ſome free converſation, wherein they appeared very agreeable and chearful, they invited us to viſit any of them in their houſes in town, either now, or at any other time we ſhould think proper.

We told them, we ſhould be glad if to-morrow was obſerved as a day of reſt among them; and that we ſhould have ſomething more to ſay to them before we took our leave. Taking us by the hand, a mark of their reſpect, they withdrew.

We conſidered matters over this evening, and endeavoured to commit the affair to God, and look to him for direction and aſſiſtance.

21ſt. *Sabbath.*

21ſt. *Sabbath.* This morning * *Samuel*, otherwiſe, *Tepiſſ-cow-a-haug*, who is one of the chief men of the council, went to all the houſes in the town, to give them notice, that we were to ſpeak to them to-day, at the council houſe, about religion.

At eleven o'clock, or a little after, one of the council came to our hut, in order to conduct us to the *Council Houſe*, where his majeſty lives. A conſiderable number both of men and women attended.

I began divine worſhip by ſinging part of a pſalm, having previouſly explained the general drift and meaning of it to them. (Pſalmody, by the way, is exceeding pleaſing to the *Indians*) I then prayed, and the interpreter repeated my prayer to them in their own language.

* This morning, being retired to the woods, I was at ſome loſs how to ſpeak to theſe benighted heathens, who had never yet heard a ſermon. After looking to God for direction, I conſidered the practice of the inſpired apoſtle, *Paul*, the great doctor of the gentiles, who preached Chriſt immediately to them as well as to the *Jews*. I reſolved to follow his example, as it was in this way of preaching the bleſſing of ſucceſs was to be expected.

I then

I then preached to them from the parable of the prodigal ſon, Luke, xv. 11. By way of introduction, I gave ſome ſhort account of man's primitive happy ſtate—then of his fall—how all mankind were concerned therein, and affected by it—and that, this the bible taught us, and ſad experience and obſervation abundantly confirmed. I then illuſtrated our ſad condition, particularly by the prodigal ſon, and ſhewed what hopes of mercy and encouragement there were for us to return to God, the father, through Chriſt, from the ſtriking example before them, delivering ſo much at a time as the interpreter could well retain and deliver exactly again, making things as plain as poſſible, uſing ſuch ſimilies as they were well acquainted with, in order to convey a more clear idea of the truth to their minds. There was a cloſe attention paid by moſt of the audience to the truths that were delivered, not only as they might appear to them, new and ſtriking, as I hoped, but as matters of the greateſt importance, and infinitely intereſting. Some, more eſpecially the women, ſeemed really to lay things to heart.

After ſermon was over, we ſat a-while with them. We then propoſed to ſpeak to them again in the afternoon, if it was agreeable. We were told it would. We then withdrew.

About

About three o'clock, the *King* was up in town, and told us, he would have his people together as ſoon as he went home, and would then ſend us word. Accordingly a meſſenger was ſent to us for that purpoſe in a little time after, with whom we went to the place of meeting, where Mr. *Duffield* preached from 1 Cor. xv. 22. giving juſt a plain narration how all became dead in Adam; and how all true believers were made alive, and entitled to life eternal in and through Chriſt.

The people appeared to be much engaged, and well pleaſed with the word, as though they deſired truly to know theſe things, and we have great reaſon to hope, there have been ſome good impreſſions made on their minds to day — ſome of them appeared very ſolemn and affected. After ſermon we ſat a-while, according to their cuſtom after delivering any ſpeech, and then returned to our hut.

Our interpreter, who tarried a-while after us, among them, at his return, told us, that all their leading men, and eſpecially the *King*, deſired we would ſpeak to them again on the morrow, which meſſage we received joyfully, and would bleſs God for any hope of ſucceſs.

This day, till after evening ſermon, as far as we could obſerve, had ſo much the appearance of

of a ſabbath in this town, that it truly ſurpriſed us, and made us thankful to God for ſuch a favour; ſcarce any noiſe being to be heard in the place, except the women pounding corn for their food, as is their daily cuſtom. Upon the whole, things appeared agreeable; and there is a bleſſed proſpect of theſe poor benighted ſavages receiving the goſpel, had they an opportunity of its being faithfully and prudently preached among them, inſomuch that we could not but once and again think of our Lord's remark, *that the fields appeared white, and ready for the harveſt.*

God knows what he deſigns; but ſurely there is a glorious appearance of an effectual door being opened in theſe parts, if it be not neglected. A ſerious thoughtfulneſs about the great affair of religion, and a diligent attention to the word preached among them, ſeems to prevail with a number of theſe poor ſavages.

In the evening ſeveral came to our lodging, and ſat and heard, while I told them about the bible and the great things it contains. They appeared very grave and attentive. Among theſe was *Neolin*, a young man, who uſed ſome time paſt to ſpeak to his brethren, the *Indians*, about their wicked ways, who took great pains

with them; and, ſo far as we can underſtand, was the means of reforming a number of them.

I enquired what put him upon this practice; and he told us, that, about ſix years ago, when alone in his hut or cabin, muſing by himſelf, being greatly concerned on account of the evil ways he ſaw prevailing among the *Indians*, a man immediately appeared, and ſtood in his cabin door, while he ſat by the fire alone, in the night, and was perfectly awake, and ſpoke to him in the following manner: "Theſe things "you were thinking of are right, (referring to "the miſerable condition of the *Indians*, which "he was thinking of) and all who follow evil "ways and bad thoughts, ſhall go to a miſera-"ble place after they are dead. — But all they "who hate all evil and live agreeable to the "mind of God, ſhall, after death, be taken up "to God, and be made happy for ever."

Having thus ſpoken, he ſaid, the man immediately diſappeared, but that the man's ſpeech made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he could not help ſpeaking to the *Indians*, and endeavoured to perſuade them to leave their evil ways *.

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* The above is the ſubſtance of what he declared to us, We were well informed by a trader, (to whom he related a good

It alſo deſerves our obſervation, that the old man, *Tepiſs-cow-a-harg*, otherwiſe *Samuel*, before mentioned, was, from our firſt coming here, greatly aſſiſting in forwarding things reſpecting religion. The old man's heart ſeemed much engaged, and he ſpared no pains.

He told our interpreter, that in caſe the *King* did not ſpeak about religion, before we went away, that is, as we ſuppoſed he meant, if he did not invite, and encourage us to return again to preach to them, that he would himſelf.

22d. *Monday.* As we were informed that there was a young woman, one *Elizabeth Henry*, a priſoner yet among the *Nation*; and as we had deſired Mr. *Gibſon**, a trader, who is well

good deal more, reſpecting his extraordinary miſſion) who was taken priſoner the laſt war, by the *Indians*, given to this *Neolin*, and adopted into his family—That this man uſed to boil a quantity of bitter roots, in a large kettle, till the water became very ſtrong—that he himſelf uſed to drink plentifully of this bitter liquor, and make his family, and particularly this priſoner do the ſame—that draughts of this liquor proved a ſevere emetic—and, that doſe was taken after doſe for ſome hours together; the end of which, as *Neolin* ſaid, was to cleanſe them from their inward ſins. Poor endeavours of the light of nature! How needful, how ſalutary the knowledge of the goſpel!

* Mr. *John Gibſon*, is the trader mentioned in the preceding note, as taken priſoner, given to *Neolin*, and a-

well acquainted, and has conſiderable influence with theſe *Indians*, to mention the affair, among other things in his letter to them, which we read to a number of the principal men, who came to our hut in the forenoon; we accordingly deſired the king to order the above young woman to be delivered to us, that we might take her to her relations.

The king replied, "He was very well pleaſ-
"ed with every thing his brother, *John Gibſon*,
"had ſaid, and would ſend the priſoner, by us,
"to her relations, (had ſhe been with, or near
"them) but that ſhe was at a conſiderable
"diſtance, at a town upon the *Great Bever*
"creek, or river, about a day's journey from
"*Fort Pitt*. However, that we ſhould take the
"ſtring of wampum, which Mr. *Gibſon* had
"ſent him, (returning it to us) and give it to
"the great man of that *Town*, who would in-
"ſtantly deliver her up to us.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the *King*, (the head man of this nation) and, with him, *Tcpiſs-cow-a-bang*, *Ke-lagh-pa-mahnd*, *Tuny-e-baw-la-we-hand*, and *Negh-kaw-leegh-hung*, principal men of the council, came to our hut, and addreſſed us in the following manner:

dopted by him.—He became hereby related to the king and ſeveral great men.

"Our

" Our dear brothers, What you have ſaid to
" us (referring to our preaching yeſterday) we
" are well pleaſed with. We believe there is a
" *great God* that has made us, the heavens, and
" the earth, and all things.

" Brothers, you have ſpoken to us againſt
" getting drunk—What you have ſaid is very
" agreeable to our minds.—We ſee it is a thing
" which is very bad; and it is a great grief to
" us, that *Rum*, or any kind of ſtrong liquor
" ſhould be brought among us, as we wiſh the
" chain of friendſhip, which now unites us and
" our brethren (meaning the *Engliſh*) together,
" may remain ſtrong. But,

" Brothers, the fault is not all with us, but
" begins with our brothers, the *white* people;
" for if they will bring out rum, ſome of our
" people will buy it; they muſt buy it; it is
" for that purpoſe it is brought: but, if none
" was brought, then they could not buy it.
" And, now,

" Brothers, we beſeech you, be faithful, and
" deſire our brothers, the *white* people, to bring
" no more of it to us. Shew this *Belt* to them
" for this purpoſe, (at the ſame time holding
" forth a large *Belt* of *wampum*) ſhew it to the
" great man of the fort (meaning the com-
" manding officer of *Fort Pitt*) and to our
" brothers

" brothers on the way as you return: and to " the great men in *Philadelphia* (meaning the " principal men in the government) and in other " places, from which rum might be brought " and intreat them to bring no more. And, " now,

" Brothers, there is another thing we do not " like, and complain of very much. There are " ſome (meaning *white* people) who do at times " hire ſome of our *Squaws*, (that is, their women) " to let them lie with them; and give them rum " for it. This thing is very bad. The *Squaws* " then ſell the rum to our people, and make " them drunk.

" We beſeech you, adviſe our brothers a- " gainſt this thing, and do what you can to have " it ſtopped."

After having delivered their ſpeech, they gave the belt of wampum, and deſired us to take down, in writing, what they had ſaid, that we might not forget any part of it; for, that it was a matter about which they were much concerned. After ſome friendly converſation they withdrew.

In the evening, old *Tepiſs-cow-a-bang* came and informed us, that there were a great many here, and at another town, called *Suk-a-bung*; and likewiſe at other towns that were deſirous to hear

hear the goſpel; and that they intended to go up next ſpring to *Qui-a-ha-ga**, and there make a large town, and then try to get a miniſter among them. He informed us alſo, that there were three other *Nations* or *Tribes*, viz. the *Chippaways*†, *Puttcotungs*, and *Wyendots*, that live near the *Lake*, that is, *Erie*, who diſcovered a great deſire to hear the goſpel. I told him I underſtood that theſe tribes uſed to hear the *French* miniſters preach, who worſhipped God in ſomething of a different way from us, and therefore, perhaps, would not hear us. He replied, that he was perſuaded, and that he knew, if a miniſter of our way would go out among them, it would be very agreeable to theſe *Nations*, and that many of them would join us. In ſhort, the old man appeared much engaged in this matter.

* This place had been inhabited by ſome of the *Indians* in the town where we now were. It is ſituated on a river (navigable for canoes and flat-bottom'd boats) that empties into the lake *Erie*. *Qui-a-ha-ga* is about a day's journey from *Tuſkalawa* town, which we were at, as before mentioned.

† The *Chippaways* are ſuppoſed to be fourteen or fifteen hundred in number; all in one town. The *Puttcotungs* are conſiderable, as to number, in another town. The *Wyendots*, about ſeven hundred perſons, are likewiſe one town, which is about ſixty or ſeventy miles diſtance from *Qui-a-ha-ga* the intended *Delaware* chriſtian town.

This

This day has been ſo much taken up, by the chief men in council, about important affairs and doing buſineſs, that there was no time for ſermon. The *King* therefore propoſed that it ſhould be to-morrow, before we ſat out on our journey.

23d. *Tueſday.* The head men met in council this morning.—Between eleven and twelve o'th' clock, we attended at the council houſe for public worſhip, and found a conſiderable number convened for that purpoſe. I ſpoke from the parable of the goſpel-feaſt, Luke xiv. 16, and in my diſcourſe purſued the following method, namely, that there were rich proviſions made in the goſpel for poor ſinners. I then opened the nature of theſe proviſions, and the reaſon of their being compared to a marriage and royal feaſt.—I next ſhewed that the miniſters of the goſpel were ſent out to invite poor miſerable ſinners, the lame, *&c.* to this feaſt. I ſpoke of the excuſes that ſome made for their not coming. — I then ſhewed how any were brought to comply with the goſpel call, and then concluded with invitations and arguments to perſuade them to come to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: all which particulars I treated in the moſt plain and eaſy way, making uſe of ſuch ſimilies as the *Indians* were moſt acquainted with, and beſt adapted, ſo far as I could

I could judge, to convey a clear idea of the truths on which I diſcourſed, to their minds. A ſolemn awe appeared on the face of the aſſembly. Every one ſeemed attentive to the things that were ſpoken, and a number were affected.* The interpreter was ſo much affected himſelf, that he could ſcarcely ſpeak for ſome time; and, indeed, I muſt own, my own heart was warmed with the truths that I delivered, and the remarkable effects they appeared to have upon theſe poor benighted *heathens*.—Bleſſed be God!—Let all the praiſe be *to him*. We have reaſon to hope, no one opportunity we have enjoyed *here*, has been in vain; and we truſt, that the good impreſſions that appear to have been made, will remain and iſſue well with ſome of them. May the Lord grant our labours and hopes may not be found vain!

As we had ſignified to ſome of the *Council* that we had ſomething to ſay to them before we departed. Four of the principal men came to our hut in the afternoon, in order to hear what we had to communicate. We addreſſed them in the following manner:

* The print repreſenting *Paul* preaching at *Athens*, gives a lively idea of theſe poor *Indians*, when hearing. All were attentive, many ſeemed to be aſtoniſhed, and ſome attending in the moſt devout manner.

" Dear brethren, As we are ſoon to ſet out on
" our way home, we have a few things to ſay
" to you before we go. We are glad, and thank
" the *great God*, that brought us out and kept
" us by the way, that we might viſit our bre-
" thren in this place, and that we have had an
" opportunity of ſpending ſome time with you,
" and ſpeaking to you about the great things
" that concern another world. We are glad
" that we have had ſo comfortable a meeting
" with you; and thank our brethren for all their
" love and kindneſs to us.

" Brethren, It gives us great pleaſure and ſa-
" tisfaction, to find our brethren holding ſo faſt
" that *Chain* of friendſhip which our good bro-
" ther, Sir *William Johnſon*, made with you,
" and we hope, and pray it may ever continue
" to unite us together as one people.

" Brethren, We are much rejoiced to ſee you
" ſo earneſtly ſet againſt thoſe things that are
" bad, and eſpecially againſt the drinking of
" ſtrong liquors, which opens a door to ſo many
" evil things. We have carefully attended to
" what you ſaid to us yeſterday concerning that
" matter: and although, as we told you, our
" *Council* (meaning our ſynod) does not med-
" dle with civil government, but conſults only
" about the great things of religion: yet we do,

" by

" by this ſtring (a ſtring of wampum) aſſure
" you, that we will faithfully deliver the meſ-
" ſage you have committed to us. We will tell
" our great men and our people, what you have
" ſaid, and will uſe our beſt endeavours to have
" your deſires, in this thing, fulfilled, as far as
" lies in our power. And, now,

" Brethren, by this ſtring of wampum, We
" bid you *farewell*; and we pray the *great God*
" to be with you, and to bleſs you, and to lead
" you in the way which is right: and when we
" are gone we will pray for you; and when you
" ſhall at any time deſire it, we will endeavour
" to have ſome of our brethren ſent out to you
" again, to tell you more about the great and good
" things, of which we have ſpoken to you."

Here we gave the ſtring of wampum, agreeable to their cuſtom, which they accordingly received, and laid up as a mark of friendſhip, and appeared very well pleaſed on the occaſion.

To one of theſe men, who had learned in his youth to read a little *Engliſh*, I gave a bible * I had with me. He chearfully accepted this invaluable treaſure. To a woman, who could alſo read, I gave a little book, intitled A compaſſion-

* It was a bible from the ſociety in *London* for promoting religious knowledge.

ate Addreſs to the Chriſtian World, and they propoſed to lend their books to another.*

Upon the whole, there really appears a ſtrange, nay, a ſtrong deſire prevailing in many of theſe poor heathens, after the knowledge of the goſpel, and the things of God, and a *Door*, as we before obſerved, to be effectually opening, or, rather, already opened for carrying to them the glad tidings of ſalvation, ſo that, if now proper meaſures were vigorouſly purſued, there is much reaſon to hope, that the bleſſing of God might attend and crown attempts of this kind with ſucceſs.

This evening *Neolin* came to ſee and ſit with us a-while, and deſired to hear ſomething about the *Chriſtian Religion*.—I deſired Mr. *Duffield* to ſpeak to him, who accordingly told him ſomething concerning the promiſes of a *Savicur*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, that had been given of old, and recorded in the book of *God*, and how, according to theſe promiſes, Chriſt came. He then gave him a ſhort ſummary of the way that a ſinner is

* This man and woman, who could read, were born in *New-Jerſey*, among the *Engliſh*. Either his parents, or, more likely, ſome well diſpoſed perſons of the *Engliſh*, I ſuppoſe, put the man to ſchool. The woman being born in that congregation of chriſtian *Indians*, under the care of Mr. *David Brainerd*, learned to read. Both theſe went back, when they grew up, among the wild *Indians*.

brought

brought to have an intereſt in this Saviour, and of the change that is wrought in him, and that by the ſpirit of God; and pointed out to him the effects it produces in a perſon towards God, his laws, his ways, *&c.* and that theſe effects are marks and evidences of an intereſt in Chriſt, and the promiſes. He appeared very attentive, and much pleaſed to hear theſe things. When we had done, he affectionately took us by the hand, and withdrew, telling us, if he could, he would ſee us again in the morning.*

* Some of the *Indians* obſerving us conſulting a map of the country, which we had with us, in order to find out the beſt and moſt direct way to *Fort Pitt*; one of them went to his houſe, and brought a map of his own, or ſome other *Indian*'s drawing, wherein the lakes, rivers, towns, where different tribes or nations live, council-fires, that is, where the different tribes meet, in order to conſult about their public affairs, and other remarkable places, ſeemed pretty juſtly laid down, all things conſidered. On the back of *Lake Superior*, I obſerved a very conſiderable river running a different courſe from the reſt (its courſe ſeemed to be near N. W.) By this it ſhould ſeem as if there muſt be ſome great lake or ſea to the north or north-weſt of theſe parts, which has not yet been diſcovered, into which this river empties itſelf. The *Indian* that pointed out to us theſe places on his map, ſaid, where this river was, or near it, was very cold; that is far north. — Perhaps, by following the courſe of this river, that paſſage, which has been long ſought for, to the ſouth-ſeas, by the north-weſt, might be found out.

We

We underſtand by our good friend, *Tepiſſ-cow-a-hang*, otherwiſe *Samuel*, that there are about forty-ſeven *Indians* here, who have had ſome conſiderable impreſſions made on their minds by our preaching, the *King* and *Neolin* being among the number; the latter, as before mentioned, who had been, according to his light, in time paſt, endeavouring to inſtruct his brethren, the *Indians*, attended upon us privately, as well as publicly; with a deſire to know more about religion; and almoſt all the young *Indians* expreſſed a great deſire to learn to read.

The principal men of this town ſent an invitation, by our interpreter, *Joſeph*, to the *Indians* living pretty high up on *Suſquehanah* river, in a town called *Wia-luſing*, to move with their families to *Qui-a-ha-ga*, where they intend to form the chriſtian town, before mentioned, having heard that theſe *Indians* have ſome knowledge of chriſtianity, as well as thoſe under the care of Mr. *Brainerd*, that they might ſee and know how chriſtians live.

In the evening, twenty perſons came to the houſe of *Tepiſſ-cow-a-hang*, under religious impreſſions, who expreſſed their concern at our leaving them, and wondered we ſhould go away ſo ſoon.

We

We ſhould have been willing, and very deſirous to have tarried a longer time in this place, as there is ſuch an agreeable proſpect of a number of theſe poor benighted ſavages being brought to embrace the goſpel; but our time appointed by the ſynod being near expired, and we not being any way provided for continuing longer here, having ſcarcely as much meal left as would be ſufficient to ſupport us till we arrived at *Fort Pitt*; and the principal deſign of our appointment to viſit them, in order to know what proſpect there might be of introducing the goſpel amongſt them, having been anſwered, we determined to return; and the rather, as we had no proſpect, had we continued longer, of aſſembling many of them together, for it was the time when they begin their fall-hunting, upon which their living chiefly depends, a number of them already having gone out of town laſt night on that deſign; ſo that, upon the whole, it appeared moſt adviſable and clear to be our duty, all things conſidered, to return; and, accordingly, with the leave of Providence, we determined to ſet out on our journey on the morrow.*

24th. *Wedneſday.*

* This town (the proper name of which is *Negh-ka-anque*, that is, the *red Bank*, being called ſo from the colour of

24th. *Wedneſday.* *Neolin* came this morning to ſee us, and bring us on our way. We ſat out on

of the bank of the river, on which it is built) is about one mile and a half in length, conſiſting of ſixty or ſeventy houſes, built chiefly on the ſouth-ſide of the river *Muſkingham*, and contains about ſix or ſeven hundred perſons, as far as we could learn. In ſome parts of the town the houſes ſtand pretty cloſe to each other; in other parts at a greater diſtance and irregular.—Some of the houſes are made of broad ſplit pieces of wood, with one end ſtuck in the ground cloſe to each other, ſtanding up like a ſtockade; others are made of logs of wood laid upon one another, notched at the corners into each other; but the moſt of them are made of bark, ſet up on edge, tied to ſtakes drove in the ground, and all covered with bark, except the king's houſe, which is covered with broad ſplit pieces of wood, with their ends ſet to the ridge of the roof, ſo cloſe together as to keep out the rain, and appears very neat. The houſes are in general much longer than they are wide, with a door at each end, which they cloſe or ſhut by ſetting up a piece of broad bark. Two or three families live in ſome houſes, and in cold weather have two or three fires in them at proper diſtances, but no chimney. The land on each ſide of the river is a rich ſoil, but eſpecially the north-ſide, where they chiefly plant their *Indian* corn, or maize, beans, pumpkins, *&c.* The river at the town appears to be conſiderably more than one hundred yards wide, and runs near weſt; but lower down turns ſouthward, and keeps much that courſe, as far as we could learn, till it empties itſelf into the *Ohio*, and is navigable for canoes or flat bottom'd boats. The *Indians* ſometimes go from hence to *Fort Pitt* in their canoes.

The

on our journey, by a different way to *Fort Pitt* than that we went, accompanied by an *Indian* belonging to the town, called by the *Engliſh*, Capt. *Jacob*,† a great warrior, who appeared to have ſome impreſſions of religion.

After travelling up the bank of the river *Muſkingham*, about three miles, through rich level

The land, the way we came to this place from *Fort Pitt*, appeared to be very good in general, but uneven, having many high ridges and ſmall caſtles, yet abounding with low rich land, uſually called *Bottom*; the little ſtreams running through theſe bottoms, are generally very crooked and narrow, with deep and ſteep banks, owing to the richneſs of the ſoil. The nearer we approached to this place, we found the country more level; and, to the weſt and northweſt of it, at ſome diſtance, the country, we are informed, becomes quite level, and has very great plains, on which there is no wood, but fine graſs, and therefore plenty of deer. Some of the *Indians* of this town are juſt come in from hunting, on one of theſe plains, which they ſay is one hundred miles broad, and about four days journey from hence: another, ten days journey from hence, is vaſtly large, like the ſea, the *Indians* ſay; I ſuppoſe, they mean one of the great lakes. The climate here ſeems to be healthy.

† The king and ſome of his council intended to have accompanied us back to *Fort Pitt*; but, hearing the deputy-agent for *Indian* affairs, was to be in the town in eight days, they were prevented.

land: we croſſed the river at a fording-place, and travelled with as great expedition, as our circumſtances would admit, with a view, if poſſible, to reach *Fort Pitt*, by *Saturday* night, in order to preach to the people there. We had not travelled many miles before there came on a very heavy rain, which continued all the afternoon, and wetted us pretty thoroughly, as we had no place of ſhelter, which obliged us to ſtop a little before night at a ſmall river, where was ſome food for our horſes, and with difficulty we got a fire kindled.—The ground and the blankets we had to lie on, as well as our cloaths, being wet, made our lodging not very comfortable. However, we wrung the water out of ſome of our cloaths, and endeavoured to dry them by the fire, and ſo paſſed the night as well as we could.

25th. *Thurſday*. Sat out this morning, as early as we could, the weather cloudy, but not much rain.

My horſe and baggage horſe tired in the afternoon, though we had now little proviſion for him to carry, and notwithſtanding we had walked ſome part of the way in order to eaſe them. We encamped a little before night, at the beſt place we could find for our horſes, made up a fire

fire as uſual, and got our cloaths pretty well dried.

26th. *Friday.* Proceeded on our way. My horſe being very weak, I was obliged to travel a good part of the day on foot. Our cloaths were again wet with the rain in the afternoon, but the night being pretty fair we got our cloaths tolerably well dried by the fire. *

27th. *Saturday.* Aroſe before day, (as we have done every morning ſince we ſat out on our journey, having no great inducement to keep our beds) and took a little of what we had for our breakfaſt. We ſat out at day-light on our way, in order to make as good a days journey as poſſible, as we had now but little proviſion. Capt. *Jacob*, our companion now in travel, went off the road to hunt for us, but returned without any thing. Having a little meal made of *Indian* corn, parched, I took a ſpoonful or two of it, mixed with water, and drank it, and was enabled to travel on foot to-day about twenty-five miles. We met ſeveral *Indians*, who told us (upon inquiring of them) that *Elizabeth Henry*, the priſoner before mentioned, whom we had

* The moſt part of the way we came hitherto, was hilly, and had high ridges, and ſome part much incumbred with trees fallen down, which made it fatiguing for man and horſe.

demanded of the king, was married to an *Indian*, and went ſometime ago with her huſband to hunt, one hundred miles diſtant from the town, where ſhe had been priſoner; ſo that ſhe was entirely out of our reach.

In the afternoon we met an *Indian* with a deer on his back that he had killed, part of which we bought and carried with us. This came very ſeaſonable, as we had little for our ſupper.

A little before night we arrived at the *Great Beaver* creek, much fatigued, finding our utmoſt efforts to reach the fort this week in vain, being twenty-five miles from it. We made our fire on a pleaſant bank of the river, having near half a mile to go for our fire-wood. We dreſſed our veniſon for ſupper, part of which we gave to an *Indian* chief* and his family, whom we found encamped here. I ſignified great deſire to be at the fort to-morrow, time enough to preach in the afternoon; but having no horſe able to carry me there in that time, Capt. *Jacob*

* The *Indian*'s wife ſeeing us carry our fire wood ſo far on our ſhoulders, took her hatchet, cut and brought us, in a little time, a great burthen of wood on her back, and threw it down by our fire, ſhe not only pitying us, but thinking it a great ſcandal, I ſuppoſe, to ſee men doing that, which is properly the work of their women.

very

very freely offered his, which was pretty ſtrong, and I thankfully accepted his offer.

28th. *Sabbath.* Aroſe before day. Mr. *Duffield*, by the fatigue of the journey, together with wet weather, was taken very ill laſt night, ſo that I was afraid to leave him in ſuch a ſituation; but he inſiſted on my going to the fort according to my propoſal, to preach to the people.

After we had taken the remains of our veniſon, we had dreſſed laſt night, and meal made into ſome cakes, I parted with my company by daylight, croſſed the *Beaver* river, and made the beſt of my way, (going on foot up and down hills to eaſe my horſe)* and arrived at the river *Ohio*, oppoſite to the fort, between twelve and one o'clock. I croſſed the river in a canoe, ſwimming my horſe along ſide.

In the afternoon I preached to a conſiderable number of people, aſſembled in the little town

* On the road I overtook an *Indian* woman with three or four children, going to *Fort Pitt*. She was cracking walnuts, and feeding her children with the kernels.

When ſhe ſaw me, ſhe ſignified that ſhe and her children were almoſt famiſhed with hunger. To relieve her diſtreſs, as far as I was able, I gave her a ſmall bit of bread, I had ſaved from my breakfaſt, to eat upon the road, which ſhe took and divided among her children, to their no ſmall joy.

near

near the fort. Having made known the diſtreſs Mr. *Duffield* and our company were in, for want of food and proper refreſhments, a young man went to them with ſome bread and other neceſſaries.

29th. *Monday.* Was glad to ſee Mr. *Duffield* (conſiderably recovered from his illneſs) and the reſt of the company ſafely arrived at the fort. Having given notice of ſermon this evening, Mr. *Duffield* preached.

30th. *Tueſday.* Waited on the commanding officer in the fort, in order to deliver a meſſage to him from the king *Netat-whelman*, that I was charged with, concerning the *Indian* trade.

1ſt. *October*, *Wedneſday.* Capt. *Jacob*, the *Indian*, who accompanied us to this place, came to ſee us, went with us a little way, then took an affectionate leave, and expreſſed a conſiderable concern at parting with us. It being late in the day before we could get ready to ſet out on our journey, we were obliged to travel ſome time in the night, in order to reach an houſe where we lodged.

2d. *Thurſday.* Sat out early.—Reached *Fort Ligonier* about dark, which is about fifty-four miles from *Fort Pitt.*

3d. *Friday.* Mr. *Duffield* preached to a ſmall number of people, living in and about the

the fort. Sat out on our journey after twelve o'clock. After we had travelled about five miles, we came to the *Lawrel* hill, which we croſſed. We were obliged to travel eight or nine miles in the night, to *Stoney* creek, in order to accompliſh our deſign of reaching *Fort Bedford* tomorrow evening, where we had ſent notice of our intention to preach next *Sabbath*. Our lodging, on account of a number of people being in the houſe, going to *Fort Pitt*, was not very agreeable.

4th. *Saturday*. Sat out in the rain this morning. It both rained and ſnowed in the afternoon, which made it very uncomfortable travelling over the *Alegh-geny* mountain. We arrived at *Bedford* a little before dark, (which is one hundred and five miles from *Fort Pitt*.) I was much indiſpoſed, owing to the cold and wet of the day, and travelling ſome part of the night before. We lodged at Mr. *Dougherty*'s.

5th. *Sabbath*. Was much out of order laſt night, but much better this morning, and enabled to preach one part of the day. Mr. *Duffield* preached the other.

6th. *Monday*. As I was preparing to preach this morning, I was ſeized with a fit of the ague. Mr. *Duffield*, therefore, preached in my room.

7th. *Tueſday*.

7th. *Tueſday.* Sat out from *Bedford* on our journey, being tolerably well, and reached a public houſe, at the foot of *Sideling* hill, in the night.

8th. *Wedneſday.* Aroſe early, in order to proceed on our journey, but was ſoon obliged to go to bed again, being ſeized with a bad fit of the ague. We being much ſolicited to preach at the *Cove*, a congregation about ten miles diſtance from hence, Mr. *Duffield* went and preached to them.

About twelve o'clock, my fever began to abate, when I aroſe, and ſat out on my way with the interpreter, and with great difficulty travelled about ſixteen miles.

9th. *Thurſday.* Reſolved to take the neareſt way to *Carliſle*, by the *Path-Valley*.—Accordingly we ſat out. We had not gone many miles before we aſcended a very ſteep mountain. A great part of the road this day, was mountainous, and very rugged, which, with the weakneſs of our horſes, obliged us to travel on foot ſome part of the way.

We got to a houſe near a ſmall river, in the evening, where we lodged.

10th. *Friday.* Was taken very bad with the ague this morning before day. The fever began to abate about nine or ten o'clock, when we ſat

ſat out on our journey. I travelled with great difficulty.

Loſing our way, we, after ſome time, came in ſight of a houſe; and, being much fatigued, I lay down at the root of a tree while the interpreter went to the houſe to enquire the way, when, being directed the road, we proceeded to a public houſe, where I lay down a little while to reſt me. Arrived at *Carliſle* in the evening, much fatigued.

This town is ninety-ſix miles from *Bedford*. Here I got ſome bark, which I began to take that night. Lodged at Col. *Armſtrong*'s.

11th. *Saturday*. Mr. *Duffield*, returned to his own houſe in this town, laſt night. I ſat out with the interpreter about eleven o'clock, croſſed *Suſquehanah* river, and lodged at a public houſe.

12th. *Sabbath*. This morning I found the bark had taken the deſired effect, in ſome good meaſure, as I felt but very few of the ſymptoms of the ague. I went to Mr. *Roan*'s congregation, where the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be adminiſtred. I preached, at the deſire of Mr. *Roan*, in the afternoon; and, after ſermon, we went to one of his people's houſes, where we lodged very agreeably.

13th. *Monday.* We proceeded on our journey; and I arrived ſafe, through the goodneſs of God, at my own houſe on *Wedneſday*, having travelled one hundred and nineteen miles from *Carliſle*, and three hundred and twenty-five from *Fort Pitt.*

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A Copy of a Letter ſent to the Rev. John Erſkine, *D. D. one of the Miniſters of* Edinburgh.

Greenock, Feb. 27, 1768.

Rev. and dear Sir,

WITH this you will receive the journal I promiſed to ſend you, of a miſſion to the *Indians*, living about four hundred and fifty miles weſt of *Philadelphia*; previous to which you will ſee ſome account of our frontier inhabitants, that, perhaps, may not be diſagreeable after ſo deſolating a war. However, this you can paſs by, if you pleaſe, with ſuch other things therein, as you will find foreign to the principal object in view, and only taken notice of for our own ſatisfaction, or amuſement. As the converſion of theſe poor benighted heathens has been long, I am perſuaded, a matter which you earneſtly deſired and prayed to God for, ſo any proſpect of it muſt afford you proportionable ſatisfaction, and be ſtill a further encouragement to pray, and hope, that the time to favour them

is not far off, when thoſe heathens ſhall be given to the Son of God for his inheritance, and the utmoſt parts of the earth, even of *America*, for his poſſeſſion.—May God fulfil his promiſes, and our joys!

I have before hinted to you, that ſince I had the pleaſure of ſeeing you laſt, I had taken pains to ſearch into the uſages and cuſtoms of the *Indians*, in order to ſee what ground there was, for ſuppoſing them to be part of the *Ten Tribes:* and I muſt own, to my no ſmall ſurpriſe, that a number of their cuſtoms appear ſo much to reſemble thoſe of the Jews; that it is a great queſtion with me, whether we can expect to find among the *Ten Tribes* (wherever they are) at this day, all things conſidered, more of the footſteps of their anceſtors, than among the different *Indian Tribes*.

The conduct of the *Indian* women, in certain circumſtances, ſeems to be in a manner perfectly agreeable to the law of *Moſes*. A young woman, at the firſt appearance of the catamenia, immediately ſeparates from others, makes up a hut for herſelf, at ſome diſtance from the town, or houſe ſhe lived in, and remains there during the whole time of her diſorder, that is, ſeven days. The perſon who brings her victuals, is very careful not to touch her; and ſo cautious

is

is ſhe herſelf, of touching her own food with her hands, that ſhe makes uſe of a ſharpened ſtick, inſtead of a fork, with which to take up her veniſon, and a ſmall ladle or ſpoon for other food. — When the ſeven days are ended, ſhe bathes herſelf in water, (uſually in ſome neighbouring brook or river) waſhes all her clothes, and cleanſes the veſſels ſhe made uſe of during her menſes. — Such as are made of wood, ſhe ſcalds and cleanſes with lye, made of wood aſhes; and ſuch as are made of earth or iron, ſhe purifies by putting them into the fire: ſhe then returns to her father's houſe, or the family ſhe left; and is, after this, looked upon fit for marriage, and not before. A woman, when delivered of a child, is ſeparated likewiſe for a time.

I have been at a place in *New Jerſey*, more than once, called, in the *Indian* language, *Croſweek-ſung*, that is, the houſe of ſeparation, which took its name, no doubt, from its being a noted place for that purpoſe. Near this was formerly an *Indian* town.

The *Indians* obſerve the feaſt of firſt-fruits: and, before they make uſe of any of their corn, or fruits of the ground, twelve of their old men meet; when a deer and ſome of the new corn are provided, the veniſon is divided into twelve parts,

parts, according to the number of the men; and the corn, beaten in a mortar, prepared for uſe, by boiling, or baking it into cakes under the aſhes, is divided into the ſame number of parts with the veniſon; then theſe men (if I forget not) hold up the veniſon and corn, and pray, as they term it, with their faces to the eaſt, acknowledging, I ſuppoſe, the goodneſs and bounty of heaven to them: and, perhaps, in this prayer, ſeek to God, in ſome manner, for a bleſſing on their firſt-fruits: the veniſon and corn, prepared, are then eaten by thoſe preſent; after this, they make uſe of their corn and other fruits of the earth freely.

Another public feaſt they have in the evening, which looks ſomewhat like the paſſover, when a great quaintity of veniſon is provided, with other things, dreſſed in their uſual way, and proportions the ſame diſtributed to all the gueſts, of which they eat freely that evening; but that which is left, is thrown into the fire and burned, as none of it muſt remain till the ſun riſe the next day, nor muſt a bone of the veniſon be broken.

Once in the year, ſome of the *Tribes* of *Indians* chooſe, from among themſelves, twelve men, who provide twelve deer; and each of them cuts a ſmall pole, from which they ſtrip the

the bark, and make a tent, by ſticking one end of the poles in the ground, bending the tops over one another, and covering the tent with their blankets.—Then the twelve men chooſe each of them a ſtone, which they make hot in the fire, and place them together, I ſuppoſe, in ſome form of an altar, within the tent, and burn the fat of the inwards of the deer thereon. At the time they are offering, the twelve men in the tent, cry to the *Indians* without, "We pray, or praiſe!" Who anſwer "We hear." Then the men in the tent cry, Ho——ah! very loud and long, which appear to be ſomewhat like in ſound to hallelujah. After the fat is thus offered, ſome tribes burn tobacco, cut fine, upon the ſame ſtones. Some nations or tribes, chooſe only ten men, who provide ten deer, ten poles, and ten ſtones, *&c.*

Their cuſtoms of conſulting their *Pow-waas* (a kind of prophets, who pretend to have converſe with ſpirits) upon any extraordinary occaſions, either of great, or uncommon ſickneſs, or mortality, *&c.* ſeems to be in imitation of the *Jews* of old, inquiring of the prophet.

There is one *Tribe* of *Indians*, called, *Nanticooks*, that, on their removal from their old to new habitations, carry the bones of their anceſtors and deceaſed relations with them. I am well

aſſured

assured that some of the *Indians* will not eat the hollow of the thigh of the deer, but cut off that part and throw it away.

It is a great fashion with them to wear bracelets of wampum (a kind of bead, made of a black sea shell, which they have instead of money) on their arms: and I have frequently seen a bead hanging to the bridge of their nose; and almost all wear a kind of mock jewels in their ears, composed of such things as they like: they make great use of bear's oil, with which they anoint their heads and bodies. They have an avenger of blood among them, who is the man nearest related to the murdered, who pursues the homicide, and takes his life wherever he finds him.

No people in the world, perhaps, have a higher sense of liberty than the *Indians*; and, consequently, are more jealous of it, many of them preferring death to either captivity or slavery. They have a great disposition for war, and are far from being destitute of courage, however they may be looked upon by some to be dastardly, because their manner of fighting in the woods, and maxims of war are so different from ours, and indeed most other nations; yet, whoever truly considers their situation and circumstances, must own their art of war is best calculated

culated for them. *Britain* now, as well as *America*, knows, by experience, that they are far from being contemptible enemies, when one hundred of them have courage enough to attack, and, perhaps, are a match for a thouſand *Britiſh* troops in the wilderneſs, unacquainted with their manner of fighting. None among them are of much account, or admitted to their war-dances, that have not been at war; and according to their behaviour and warlike exploits, they are eſteemed and promoted in their way. The teſtimonies they give of their bravery, are the ſcalps and priſoners of their enemies, which they bring home.—Were not the *Jews* of old remarkable for their courage, and high ſenſe of liberty?—And was it not cuſtomary, in the days of *Saul* and *David*, to bring home teſtimonies of the number they had ſlain in battle, not very diſſimilar from the ſcalps of the *Indians*.

A chriſtian *Indian* informed me, that an old uncle of his, who died about forty years ſince, related to him ſeveral cuſtoms and traditions of the *Indians* in former times; and, among others, that circumciſion was practiſed long ago by them; but, that their young men, at length, making a mock of it, brought it into diſrepute, and ſo it came to be diſuſed.

The ſame perſon likewiſe told me, that the *Indians* had a tradition, that once the water overflowed all the land, and drowned all the people then living, except a few, who made a great *Canoe*, (which is a kind of boat, made of a large tree, hollowed out, and commonly uſed by them) and were ſaved in it.

Another tradition he heard, was, that a long time ago, the people went to build a high place to reach up a great way; and that, while they were building it, they loſt their language, and could not underſtand one another; that, while one, perhaps, called for a ſtick, another brought him a ſtone, *&c.* and that, from that time, they (the *Indians*) began to ſpeak different languages.

There ſeems to be a tradition among ſome of the *Indians*, reſpecting the bible, and the way how they came into *America*.

A ſober intelligent *Indian*, inquired of an *Engliſh* trader, when in one of the *Indian* towns, whether the *Engliſh* had not a book (meaning the bible) among them; and, being informed that they had, the *Indian* told the *Engliſhman*, that, that book was once, or long ago, theirs; and that, ſo long as they kept it, and acted according to it, their God was kind to them, and they proſpered: but that the white people, (which is a general

a general name they call other nations by, that are white) at length, bought it of the *Indians*, who thereby they learned a great many things, and prospered; while the *Indians*, on the other hand, began to decline from the time they sold it; and that their God being very angry with them for parting with this book, left them, and then other nations began to use them very ill, so that they were exposed to many hardships, and suffered many things at their hands: but, however, that their God, at length, taking pity on them, brought or directed them to this country of *America*; that, on their way to it, they came to a great water; that one of the *Indians*, who went before them, tried the depth of it by a long pole or reed, which he had in his hand, and found it too deep for them to wade.—Upon their being nonplussed, and not knowing what way to get over it, their God made a bridge over the water in one night, by which they passed over safe; and that next morning, after they were all over, God took away the bridge.

The same *Indian* represented the future state of good and bad men, to the trader, in this manner; that all the *Indians*, who were good, when they died, went in one or two days, to a fine pleasant place, where there was prepared every thing that was good to eat and drink, and to

give ſweet repoſe or reſt, and that when they awaked from ſleep, they found another different courſe, conſiſting of a great variety of things, moſt pleaſant and agreeable to the taſte, and that in this pleaſurable manner they ſpent their beings; but that ſuch as were bad, i. e. did bad things, when they died, went in one or two days to a very bad place, which he repreſented as the moſt diſagreeable—the very reverſe of the other—where they were as miſerable as the others were happy, having nothing to eat or drink, though very hungry, without any enjoyment of reſt by ſleep.

In theſe and other particulars, dear ſir, I believe you will obſerve, with me, a ſtrong reſemblance between the ancient *Jews* and *Indians*; to which, I might have added ſome peculiarities of leſs note, but I am unwilling to tire your patience. Permit me only to add, that all the cuſtoms and traditions above, are not to be found among every tribe of *Indians*; nor, perhaps, is the ſame uſage or cuſtom obſerved by every *Indian* of the ſame *Tribe*.

I am, reverend dear ſir,

With great regard,

Your affectionate humble ſervant,

C. BEATTY.

A Copy

A Copy of a Letter from the Chriſtian Indians, *under the Care of the Rev. Mr.* John Brainerd, *in* New Jerſey, *to their Brethren the* Delaware Tribes, *to the Weſtward of* Alegh-geny River, *in Anſwer to a Meſſage and Invitation, ſent by* Joſeph, *our Interpreter, to go back and ſettle among them, (dated,* February, 1767*) which Meſſage,* &c. *is mentioned in this Journal.*

To the Chief of the Delaware Tribes *of* Indians, *and all that reſide at* Ke-la-mip-pa-ching, *on the other Side of* Alegh-geny.

" Brothers,

" YOU ſent us a meſſage by our friend " *Joſeph Peepy*, with a belt of wampum, " which we have returned by him, according to " your order, with theſe ſtrings, which he will " deliver to you at a proper time.

" Brothers, You tell us we ſit near a great " water, where we are in danger of being " drowned; and you take us by the hand, and " lead us, and ſet us down at *Qui-a-ha-ga*, where " we may have good land, hunting and fiſhing

" plenty,

" plenty, and where we may ſit down quietly
" and worſhip God.

" Brothers, We thank you in our hearts, that
" you take ſo much care of us, and ſo kindly
" invite us to come to you; but we are obliged
" to tell you, that we do not ſee, at preſent,
" how we can remove with our old people, our
" wives, and our children; becauſe, we are not
" able to be at the expence of moving ſo far;
" and our brothers, the *Engliſh*, have taken us
" into their arms, as fathers take their children,
" and we do not think we ought to go without
" their conſent, and indeed we cannot go with-
" out their aſſiſtance and protection.—We have
" here a good houſe for the worſhip of God,
" another for our children to go to ſchool in;
" beſides our dwelling houſes, and many com-
" fortable accommodations—all which we ſhall
" loſe if we remove.

" We have alſo a miniſter of Chriſt to in-
" ſtruct us in all our ſpiritual concerns, and lead
" us to heaven and happineſs, which are of more
" worth to us, than all the reſt. Now, when-
" ever theſe difficulties can be taken out of our
" way, we ſhall chearfully embrace your kind
" friendly offer; in the mean time we deſire,
" the path between you and us may be kept
" open,

" open, and hope that ſome of us ſhall be able
" ſoon to make you a viſit.

" Brothers, You tell us, you behold us from a
" great diſtance, at our devotions, and deſire to
" join us.

" Brothers, We are very glad you have ſuch
" good deſires.—Certainly the great Spirit above
" has given you theſe deſires. We alſo ſhould
" be very glad to have you with us in our holy
" devotions, but our land *here* is ſo narrow, that
" we cannot expect you will leave your wide
" rich country, and come to us; but we ra-
" ther think, that, after ſome time, we may be
" able to order things ſo *here*, as that a number
" of us may come to you, if not all.

" Brothers, You tell us, you wonder none of
" us have been ſo kind as to make you a viſit,
" and inform you what we have met with, and
" deſire we would now tell you.

" Brothers, We have not been altogether neg-
" ligent in this matter; ſome of us have gone
" ſeveral times to *Wioming*, and other parts of
" *Suſquehanah*, to inform our Brothers there, of
" the good things which the Lord has made
" known to us; and ſome of us, who were
" at *Lancaſter*, with our miniſter, when the
" laſt council-fire was kindled there, would

" gladly

" gladly have informed all the *Indians* thereof,
" what we had learned about the chriſtian way,
" and now alſo we are chearfully willing, with
" all our hearts, to let you know what we have
" found and met with.

" Brothers, We have found how we may
" eſcape everlaſting miſery, and be made per-
" fectly happy for ever and ever.

" Brothers, It is made known to us, and we
" are ſure that our bodies, which now die and
" turn to duſt, ſhall be raiſed again at the laſt
" day of the world, and that our ſouls ſhall
" then be united to them, and we ſhall be alive
" again as we are now, and live for ever, never
" to die more; and that it ſhall be ſo with the
" whole race of mankind.

" We have alſo learned, and do know that
" ſome of our fellow men, will be put into a
" place of the moſt dreadful torment; from
" which they will never be able to get out,
" but muſt bear intolerable pains and tortures
" for ever more, while others ſhall be made as
" happy as a creature can poſſibly be, and this
" happineſs to laſt for ever.

" Now, Brothers, We have learned what we
" muſt be, and what we muſt do to eſcape this
" world of miſery, and obtain this place of hap-
" pineſs,

" pineſs, and we wiſh that you and all the *In-*
" *dians* every where, knew it as we do.

" Brothers, We have learned, and are ſure
" that the *great God* has ſent his Son into this
" world to redeem us from our ſins, and from
" this miſerable place, and to make us ho-
" ly and happy; and, that for this end, his
" Son gave up his life, and ſuffered himſelf to
" be put to death; and that the only way for
" us, or any of mankind, to eſcape this dread-
" ful miſery, and obtain this perfect happineſs,
" is to be good chriſtians, to forſake all our
" wicked ways, and keep all God's holy com-
" mandments, and be as much like Chriſt as we
" poſſibly can, and depend on him alone for the
" pardon of all our ſins, and for every ſpiritual
" bleſſing.

" Brothers, We have learned the whole of
" our duty. We know what will pleaſe God,
" and what will diſpleaſe him; what will bring
" us to happineſs, and what will make us miſe-
" rable; and ſo now, if we are not for ever
" happy, it will be our own faults. But, alas!
" though we know all this, we are not ſo good
" as we ſhould be. We have alſo learned to
" pray, ſing pſalms, and ſome of us can read
" and write.

" Brothers, What we have now told you of,
" is the ſubſtance of what we have learned; but
" we cannot, on this little peace of paper, tell
" you every thing particularly.

" Brothers, You tell us, you deſire we ſhould
" come, that we might teach you the chriſtian
" way, and how you alſo may come to be
" happy.

" Brothers, We wiſh to do this with all our
" hearts, ſo far as it is in our power, and are
" ſorry you are ſo far from us.

" Brothers, We have learned many good
" things, 'tis true, and ſhould be very glad to
" ſee you, and talk with you, as brethren; and
" ſome of us might teach you to ſing pſalms,
" and to read and to write; but are not fit to
" be miniſters: nor are we called to that high
" office. Miniſters are men that the great God
" calls to preach the goſpel, and to teach man-
" kind what they muſt do to be ſaved.—And
" when they preach, they ſpeak in God's name:
" from ſuch, we received the goſpel; and all
" other *Heathen* people, that have been made
" *Chriſtians*, have been made ſo by the preach-
" ing of God's miniſters. Two ſuch men, we
" are informed, you had with you laſt ſummer;
" and we do not doubt, that, if you deſire it,
" they,

" they, or ſome others, will viſit you again, at " which we ſhall very much rejoice.

" Brothers, We have heard our miniſter ſay, " he has a great concern for you; and though " we always want him at home, yet we ſhould " be willing to part with him awhile, that he " might teach you, and do you good, as he " has done us. He has lived with us many " years, and we know him to be a good friend " to the *Indians*, and that he ſeeks their beſt " good.

" Brothers, We wiſh you all good; that you " may have good miniſters to take you gently " by the hand, and lead you ſafe to heaven and " happineſs: and that you might obtain this " great good, we think it might be well for " you to ſpeak to Sir *William Johnſon*, who " you know is the perſon the great king *George* " has appointed to ſpeak to the *Indians*, and " we do not doubt he would be willing to help " you.—He might alſo, perhaps, ſo order mat- " ters, that we, after ſome time, might re- " move to you, and be very happy in your " country.

" Brothers, We deſire to commit you, and " all that concerns you and us, to the great God, " who made all things.

" We pray, that he would take you under his " particular care, and that you and we may ſo " know him, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as that " we may meet in heaven, and be happy with " him for ever more.

" *We are your ſincere Friends,*

" *And loving Brothers,*

" *Signed,* THOMAS STORE,
JOSEPH MEECHY,
STEPHEN CALVIN,
ISAAC STILL,
JACOB STAKIT."

Further

. *Further Remarks reſpecting* Indian *Affairs.*

THE converſion of the *Indians* in *America* is, undoubtedly, an object worthy of the greateſt attention, eſpecially as the chriſtianizing would be the moſt effectual way of civilizing them: for the ſcheme of leading the ſavages into a civil ſtate, previous to inſtructing them in the knowledge of chriſtianity, however plauſible it may have appeared to thoſe unacquainted with their cuſtoms and manners, yet hath been found (to the beſt of my knowledge) utterly impracticable; for their prejudices are as great againſt the laws and cuſtoms of civilized nations, as againſt chriſtianity itſelf; and therefore till ſuch time as they come to be ſolemnly impreſſed with a ſenſe of their miſerable heatheniſh ſtate, and acquainted with the nature of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the immenſe advantages accruing thereby to their precious and immortal ſouls, they will pay little regard to the arguments made uſe of in favour of a civil ſtate, which they look upon as a ſtate of bondage and downright ſlavery.—The accounts we have had hitherto of the ſucceſs of the goſpel among them, make this obſervation concerning

concerning them, abundantly evident; for as ſoon as any of them became true converts to chriſtianity, they then, but not till then, began to ſee the neceſſity and benefit of a civil government.

The ſucceſs of the goſpel among the *Indians* has been ſignal and various.—Great pains have been taken ſince the firſt ſettlement of *North America*, with different tribes and nations, at different times, to bring theſe poor benighted heathens, not only to the ſpeculative, but alſo the experimental knowledge of the true God and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt; particularly by ſome eminent miniſters, who went from *Great Britain* with the firſt ſettlers of *New England*. That great man of God, the reverend Mr. *John Eliot*, who was called the *Indian* apoſtle, laboured indefatigably many years among the *Indians*, learned their language, tranſlated the bible, and ſeveral pious tracts into their tongue, and, it pleaſed God to crown his labours with his divine bleſſing, for the converſion of many ſouls.

" Mr. *Thomas Mayhew*, ſon of an excellent " miniſter of that name, ſays, The reverend Dr. *Chauncy*, [in a late letter to his friend, after giving an account of the labours and ſucceſs of the reverend Mr. *Eliot*] " began " in another part of the province, the work of " goſpelizing

" goſpelizing the infidel natives, ſo far back as " 1642, and this good work has been carried " on by one or another of this family, from that " day to this.

" In 1657, many hundred *Indian* men and " women were added to the chriſtian ſocieties in " this part of the country, of ſuch as might " be ſaid to be holy in their converſation, and " that did not need for knowledge to be taught " the principles of the oracles of God.

" In the year 1689, the *Indian* church, un- " der the care of Mr. *John Mayhew*, ſon of the " above *Thomas*, conſiſted of above one hun- " dred communicants, walking according to the " rule of the ſcriptures.

" The reverend Mr. *Experience Mayhew*, [ſays the ſame writer] " ſon of the fore-mentioned " *John*, a gentleman of ſuch ſuperiour natural " endowments, that, had he been favoured on- " ly with common advantages, would have been " ranked among the firſt worthies of *New En-* " *gland*, and who ſpent a life protracted ſeveral " years beyond eighty, in the ſervice of the *In-* " *dians*, in the year 1727, publiſhed an octavo " volume, entitled *Indian* Converts, in which " he has given an account of the lives of thirty " *Indian* miniſters, and about eighty *Indian* men,

" women,

" women, and young perſons, within the limits " only of *Martha*'s *Vineyard*, an Iſland in *Maſſa-* " *chuſetts* province: and of theſe, (as he was " a gentleman of eſtabliſhed reputation, both " for judgment and veracity) it may be chari- " tably ſaid, that they were real converts to the " faith of Chriſt, and ſome of them in a diſtin- " guiſhing degree, clearly evidenced it by their " manner of life, which was ſuch as may make " many *Engliſh* profeſſors bluſh.

" In the atteſtation to his accounts, ſigned by " eleven *Boſtonian* miniſters, ſome of whom are " now alive, it is ſaid, that they, who may ig- " norantly and imperiouſly ſay nothing has been " done, may be confuted; whilſt thoſe who are " deſirous to ſee ſomething that has been done, " may be entertained and gratified, (the atteſ- " tators add) here is now exhibited a collection " of examples, wherein the glorious grace of " our great Redeemer has appeared to, and on " the *Indians* of *New England*. It muſt not be " imagined theſe are all that could have been " collected; for all theſe are ſelected only from " one Iſland. The author of this hiſtory, Mr. " *Experience Mayhew*, is a perſon of inconteſta- " ble veracity: we again ſay, his truth may be " relied on—his fidelity is irreproachable.

" The

The ſame Dr. *Chauncey* adds, " There is " at this day, within the province of the *Maſſa-* " *chuſett*'s *Bay* only, ſixteen miniſters, *Engliſh* " and *Indian*, (ſtatedly labouring, either as paſ- " tors of ſo many *Indian* churches, or as preach- " ers to aſſemblies of *Indians*, that meet toge- " ther for divine worſhip) nine *Engliſh* lecturers, " and ſeven ſtated ſchool-maſters, beſides occa- " ſional ones. And there are at a ſettlement, " called *Maſhpe*, two hundred *Indians*, under " the care of the reverend Mr. *Hawley*, who " know no God beſide the everlaſting *Jehovah*, " and ſtatedly pay worſhip to him through the " one mediator *Jeſus Chriſt*."

But to come to things within my own knowledge; the reverend Mr. *David Brainerd*, born in *Connecticut* in *New England*, and educated in *Yale College* of the ſame colony, my intimate acquaintance and friend, ſpent many of his laſt years in goſpelizing ſeveral tribes of the *Indians*, both in the provinces of *New Jerſey* and *Penſylvania*. Being of too tender a frame to ſuſtain the hardſhips to which he was expoſed, and too eagerly ſet upon the work to quit it, he fell a martyr to the glorious cauſe. A journal of his labours and ſucceſs among the *Indians* was publiſhed by himſelf in his life-time, entitled *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, or the rife and progreſs of

a remarkable work of grace among a number of the *Indians* in the provinces of *New Jerſey* and *Penſylvania.*

Some of theſe *Indians* I have converſed with, when they were firſt awakened out of their dark ſtate of heatheniſm, and brought under a religious concern for their ſouls, as well as afterwards, when they obtained ſome clearneſs and ſatisfaction about the ſafety of their ſtate; and have ſince preached to them ſeveral times. This worthy miniſter was ſucceeded by his brother, the reverend Mr. *John Brainerd*, who is ſtill purſuing the ſame laudable deſign.

I have now, in my hands, a catalogue, containing the names of *Indians* belonging to the *Nanaganſet* tribe in *New England*, in number about three hundred and fifteen. Mr. *Samuel Drake*, who has furniſhed the catalogue, and alſo wrote an account concerning them, and who has lived fourteen years among them as a ſchoolmaſter, ſays, " That he believes, in the judg-
" ment of charity, that in the above number of
" *Indians*, there are ſeventy real chriſtians: that
" about ſixty of them have entered into cove-
" nant with God and one another, as a church
" of Chriſt, and are determined to follow the
" lamb of God whitherſoever he goes: that
" they are alſo agreed in the articles of faith
" contained

" contained in the apoſtles creed: that on *Tueſ-*
" *day*, *Thurſday* and *Saturday* evenings, they
" conſtantly meet together to ſing and pray to
" God; and that, in their devotions, their af-
" fections ſeem to be ſurpriſingly drawn out:
" that they are not fond of receiving any into
" church fellowſhip, but ſuch as can give ſome
" good account of their being born again, re-
" nounce their heatheniſh practices, ſubject
" themſelves to the ordinance of baptiſm, and
" embrace the above articles of faith: that
" they ſteadily maintain religious worſhip in
" their families: that, once in four weeks, they
" have a meeting on the *Thurſday*, preparatory
" to the communion: that, on the Lord's day
" following, they celebrate the Lord's ſupper;
" and that, at certain ſacramental ſeaſons, he
" has thought that the Lord Jeſus ſeemed as it
" were to be evidently ſet forth before them:
" that if, at any time, any of their brethren re-
" turn to their former ſinful practices, the reſt
" will mourn over them as though their hearts
" would break: that, if their backſliding bre-
" thren repent of their ſin, and manifeſt a de-
" ſire to walk again with the church, their re-
" joicing is equal to their former mourn-
" ing: but that, if no fruit of repentance ap-
" pears, after they have mourned over them for

" ſeveral meetings, they bid the offender fare-
" wel, as though they were going to part to
" meet no more, and with ſuch a mourning as
" reſembles a funeral. I have been, ſays, my
" worthy informer, at ſeveral ſuch meetings,
" and there has been ſuch a lamentation in the
" aſſembly, when they were obliged to part
" with a brother, as a heathen man or a publi-
" can, that even the before-obſtinate ſinner
" would be ſo affected, as to appear inwardly
" in pain for ſin, and continue to cry to God
" for mercy, till he was delivered from his load
" of guilt, and admitted into fellowſhip with
" the church again."

My informant farther ſays, " That this reli-
" gious concern began among thoſe *Indians* a-
" bout twenty-ſix years ſince; and that their
" miniſter is one of their own number, Mr.
" *Samuel Niles*. He adds, that now many of
" their children are able to read the New-Teſta-
" ment to their parents."

There are ſeveral other tribes of *Indians* in *New England*, not far diſtant from this ſame tribe, that have received the chriſtian religion; a number of whom, as I am very credibly informed, in the judgment of charity, give evidences of their being real chriſtians, and have occaſional communion with thoſe of the *Nanaganſet*

ganſet church, particularly about thirty or forty of the *Mohigon Indians*, of which tribe the reverend Mr. *Occum*, a perſon now well known in *England* and *Scotland*, is one; of the *Pequet* tribe, about twenty; of the *Nehantick* tribe, ſome few, ſix or ſeven; both theſe *Indian* tribes live in the colony of *Connecticut*. There are alſo ſome of the *Stony Town* tribe, that have occaſional communion with the *Nanaganſets*, and about fifteen or ſixteen of the *Montawk* tribe of *Indians*, who live upon the eaſt end of *Long Iſland*, and for ſeveral years had the reverend Mr. *Horton* to preach among them; theſe ſometimes croſs the *Sound*, a great water, in order to join the above church in its divine ordinances.

Such have been the endeavours of the *New Englanders*, and ſuch the ſucceſs vouchſafed them in evangelizing the *Indians*; to which I might add, the preſent very laudable and diſintereſted attempts of the reverend Dr. *Wheelock*, in ſetting up an *Indian* ſchool, to furniſh thoſe poor benighted heathens with miniſters and ſchool-maſters, as well to inſtruct them in all the arts of agriculture and civil life, as the great things pertaining to God; an undertaking that hath met with remarkable encouragement, particularly in the very large collections which have lately

lately been made in *Great Britain* for its ſupport, and the countenance and patronage of thoſe very reſpectable and worthy gentlemen, who have condeſcended to become a board of truſt for the diſtribution of the ſaid monies.

I would only beg leave to ſubjoin my earneſt and moſt importunate wiſhes; that whoever hereafter may be ſtirred up, and employed in the great work of evangelizing the *Indians*, may, like their forementioned worthy predeceſſors, approve themſelves able miniſters of the New Teſtament, be truly pious, and examplary chriſtians, holy in all manner of converſation and godlineſs.—Otherwiſe, I am well perſuaded, that the beſt preaching will be ſo far from having any ſalutary influence upon the *Indians*, that they will rather become more hardened in their native heatheniſm, by the vitious and unholy lives of ſuch as attempt to proſelyte them to the religion of Jeſus, but yet exhibit in their temper and conduct, nothing of the purity of the goſpel, or diſpoſition and practice of its divine author.

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